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NATO Nuclear Group To Discuss Compensation

LD271413 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] NATO's Nuclear Planning Group has convened for a session in Brussels. The session involves defense ministers from the NATO countries, excluding France. Spain and Iceland are represented by observers. Yuriy Solton comments:

Initially, NATO's defense ministers intended to gather in a suburb of Copenhagen, but on the eve of their session, the Danish Parliament gave them a surprise: It adopted a resolution closing access to the country's ports for nuclear armed ships. This decision generated confusion in NATO capitals. Washington and London are particularly annoyed because they are accustomed to disregarding Denmark's denuclearized status in peace time, so the defense ministers transferred their meeting to Brussels to show their dissatisfaction.

I think, writes Yuriy Solton, that the resolution issued by the Danish Parliament reflects a rise in antiwar sentiments, not only in that country but in Europe as a whole. When the Soviet-American treaty on eliminating medium-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles was signed, people saw a light in the tunnel of nuclear preparations, and they want this light to grow brighter. But do the NATO military circles share this desire? Judge for yourselves. NATO officials make no secret of the fact that a major item on the agenda of the defense ministers' meeting will be the issue of compensation for the losses in nuclear arsenals to be inflicted by the elimination of American Pershing-2's and cruise missiles.

The NATO command finds that the 5,000 nuclear warheads that will remain in Western Europe are insufficient. Its experts call for deploying in Western Europe new strategic American bombers, for adding nuclear missiles to NATO submarines and for modernizing ground based tactical and battlefield nuclear weapons not covered by the INF Treaty. All these issues are to be discussed by the session in Brussels. It's useless to try to guess what decisions, in concrete terms, will be taken by the defense ministers—the more so, as there is no consensus among them on the issue of nuclear compensation. But one trend is clearly in evidence: At a time when the public launched vigorous efforts aimed at reducing the nuclear threat, when preparations for drafting a treaty on 50-percent cuts in Soviet and American strategic nuclear arms are in progress, NATO's military circles give preference to outdated stereotypes. They bank on nuclear weaponry, on being the first to use it, and this is extremely disquieting.

Vienna Talks on European Arms Curb Mandate

PM271531 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent B. Dubrovin: "At the Consultations of the 23: A Slackened Pace"]

[Text] Vienna, April—First, a short historical digression. The comprehensive program to ensure a nuclear-free world by the end of this century, together with the complete elimination of nuclear weapons put forward by M.S. Gorbachev on 15 January 1986 envisages cuts in conventional arms and armed forces. The Warsaw Pact states' appeal to NATO member states and all European countries containing specific proposals for cuts in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals was adopted in Budapest in June 1986. For quite a long time, the NATO countries failed to give an appropriate response to this appeal. Half a year was needed before elementary political realism ultimately prevailed and the socialist countries' proposals that preparations begin for talks on conventional arms were finally accepted. And in February 1987 representative of 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries began consultations.

Certain progress has been made in the last year of consultations although, according to circles at the Vienna meeting, it could have been more effective and rapid. Notably, an understanding has been reached that the following basic elements—the goals and subject of the talks, the zone affected, the precise list of participants, verification measures, and the principles of conducting the talks—must form part of the mandate.

To date, preliminary agreement has been reached only on those sections relating to the aims of the future talks. They, as participants of the consultations agreed, are designed to consolidate stability and security in Europe by establishing a balance of armed forces and conventional arms at lower levels, eliminating imbalances and asymmetries in troops and arms, and removing the potential for a surprise attack and large-scale offensive actions.

An important agreement from the political standpoint that talks could begin directly after the end of the Vienna meeting, before 1988 is out, has also been reached in principle. However, the most significant elements of the mandate have yet to be agreed. Consultations are progressing with difficulty and at a very slackened pace.

The basic question on which accord has not yet to be reached is the question of the kinds of conventional arms to be cut and other measures agreed at the talks. [sentence as published] The stance of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries is as follows: From the overall range of conventional weapons, it is necessary to examine so-called dual-purpose systems, that is to say, tactical strike aviation and heavy artillery capable of using both conventional and nuclear charges. And this is no mere whim. The point is, that it is virtually impossible to separate these systems from conventional arms. Moreover, from an organizational standpoint, they form part of the structure of conventional arms.

Western delegations do not seem to directly object to examining dual-purpose weapons at future talks but in practice they stubbornly refuse to mention it in the text of the mandate. This naturally arouses legitimate suspicion.

It is impossible to achieve military stability in Europe by excluding cuts in the most dangerous classes of arms. And this is precisely what the NATO participants would now appear to be seeking by their attempts to remove tactical strike aviation first and foremost from the subject of the talks. This kind of approach could lead to absurdity.

Mindful that the Western partners are not at present ready to cut particular kinds of tactical nuclear arms, Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze proposed during his recent visit to the FRG that dual-purpose systems be examined at future talks without their nuclear component, that is to say, without nuclear warheads, bombs, or nuclear charges. In the opinion of the Soviet side, which is supported by the other Warsaw Pact countries, they could be made the subject of separate talks at a later stage.

NATO countries have not to date given a response to these proposals. Moreover, NATO states have begun to feverishly draw up arms upgrading plans designed to compensate for the nuclear-missile "gap" that has developed in Europe. Some people in the West are clearly not averse to using discussions to disguise an actual buildup of military might and embarking on the path of so-called compensation. This is a dangerous course which, rather than preventing a new round in the race in both nuclear missiles and conventional arms, could, on the contrary, spur it on.

CEMA Perestroyka Seminar Opens in Prague

LD272025 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 27 TASS—An international seminar on problems of perestroyka of the economic mechanism in the CMEA member countries opened in Prague today. It is attended by over 50 specialists from 7 socialist states.

Speaking at the opening of the seminar, First Deputy Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Rudolf Rohlicek has said that its aim is a thorough exchange of experience of perestroyka which is under way in the fraternal countries. Also discussed will be problems linked with expansion of progressive forms of cooperation, including direct links and joint ventures. The participants in the seminar will get to know the progress of economic transformations in Czechoslovakia.

Pact Current Information Exchange Panel Meets

PM261521 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A regular session of the multilateral group for current information exchange, consisting of representatives from Warsaw Pact states, was held a few days ago in Warsaw. An exchange of information and opinions on some topical international questions, concerning in particular security and cooperation in Europe, took place at the session.

The session participants were received by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary. Poland's Deputy Foreign Minister Boleslaw Kulski took part in the meeting.

Language Problem Detracts From Military Ties

PM251457 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Apr 88 First Edition p 3

["Dialogue After Joint Exercise" with Polish Lieutenant Colonel Andrzej Kowalczyk and Soviet Major V. Pyzhov by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Manushkin: "Experience Acquired in the Field"]

[Text] Northern Group of Forces—This time the subunits' tactical exercise was directed by Lieutenant Colonel Andrzej Kowalczyk, commander of the Polish Army's "N" Tank Regiment. A Soviet battalion under the command of Major V. Pyzhov acted in the subunits' combat formations. The Soviet and Polish servicemen had spent the whole night strengthening defenses shoulder to shoulder, as the saying goes—"digging in" to the ground so as to greet the "enemy" with aimed fire at dawn. Then there was a withdrawal to previously prepared positions, the commitment of the second echelon to combat, a regrouping of forces and means, and a swift counterattack. Finally, all was quiet over the battlefield...

The day was drawing toward evening. Two tank columns—one Soviet, one Polish—halted at the edge of a pine forest. The armored cars' motors had not yet cooled down, all the shell holes in the targets had not yet been counted (one of the exercise's stages involved field firing), but servicemen had begun gathering in groups by the tanks. I approached the familiar commanders, who were discussing something heatedly. We got into conversation...

Maj V. Pyzhov: This is the first time I have been on a joint exercise. I admit I was anxious. It is embarrassing to disgrace yourself in front of Polish comrades. Particular doubts arose when organizing cooperation...

Lt Col A. Kowalczyk: When preparing the exercise, we devoted more attention precisely to the organization of cooperation. We carried out joint reconnaissance of the terrain, studied the "enemy," and exchanged intelligence data. Both Soviet and Polish officers were involved in planning combat operations and decisionmaking. I was interested, for example, to observe Lieutenant Miroslaw Chabant and Lieutenant Vasiliy Ambros, whose companies acted next to each other in the combat formation, debating where to position the tanks and the attached means and where to set up the primary, alternate, and decoy positions. Then they walked over to each other's locations and shared experience of camouflaging hardware, determined single reference points, and drew up mutual fire support cards.

Or take Captain Mikhail Silantyev, commander of an attached artillery battery. He visited literally every company—both Polish and Soviet. This helped him, in the final analysis, to skillfully coordinate efforts in time and place with the subunits to which the battery was giving fire support during combat.

Correspondent: This exercise, like others, incidentally, will probably have introduced something new into the cause of strengthening our combat cooperation?

Lt Col A. Kowalczyk: Previously we would devote more attention to the showy aspect, so to speak, of our relations. We would put the main "emphasis" on joint sessions, conferences, meetings to mark anniversaries... These, too, are necessary, of course. But you will not resolve practical questions of combat cooperation in a presidium or on a rostrum. Only here, in the field.

Maj V. Pyzhov: I agree. Previously things would turn out somewhat strangely: You organize your own combat training, and we ours. But we have a common cause. We must clearly proceed from this when organizing combat training.

Lt Col A. Kowalczyk: Do you know what else that is new has appeared recently? Joint field training centers. Soviet and Polish subunits go out into the field, set up camp, hold exercises together, work out normatives, service hardware, shoot, and drive combat vehicles. Combat experience is exchanged from hand to hand, as it were. In my view this, like the holding of joint tactical exercises, is a very promising direction in strengthening combat cooperation.

Correspondent: You prepared for the exercise together and conducted it together. What instructive aspects have been revealed, in your view, in each other's work?

Maj V. Pyzhov: If we Soviet subunit commanders prepare an exercise, we plan all its stages thoroughly and know all the details of who is to do what. Sometimes we even know for the "enemy": Where, when, and with what forces he will attack, and so forth. I was pleased that the Polish comrades keep all this firmly under wraps. While acting together, we did not know, for example, where and when the "enemy" would counterattack against us or what task we would have to fulfill a few hours later. Here it is a question not only of the intrigue of the exercise but also of the instructiveness and usefulness of such an approach...

Lt Col A. Kowalczyk: I would describe as instructive such qualities of the Soviet servicemen as assiduity and harmoniousness in teams' actions. We have also derived a great deal for ourselves from experience of actions in defense. Your methods for the fire training of tankmen proved useful. In general, this field exercise was mutually useful. If only they could be held more frequently.

Maj V. Pyzhov: Indeed, why not increase the number and periodicity of such tactical exercises?

Lt Col A. Kowalczyk: I would also propose such forms of joint exercises: Your officer, let us assume, holds a tank-firing training session with Polish soldiers. Our experienced specialist holds a session with Soviet servicemen—on defense against mass destruction weapons or some other subject. The benefit would be mutual. True, we also must not forget the language barrier, although many Polish soldiers know Russian.

Maj V. Pyzhov: I will say self-critically that I, for example, am ashamed that I still do not know Polish. But is it really only a question of myself? In our regiment, for example, Major Valeriy Ivanovich Ignatov, unit deputy commander for political affairs, speaks Polish well. But he studied in Warsaw, in a military academy. But the rest? It happens that an officer has served in the Northern Group but cannot speak even 10 words of Polish. And so I think: Why do we not set up Polish language study circles in the units?

Lt Col A. Kowalczyk: I would also like to speak of the beneficial effect which exchanges of military academy students has on strengthening cooperation. In our regiment, too, there are officers who graduated from Soviet academies. In particular, my deputy—Captain Jozef Dobrowolski. But I frequently think: What a help it would be if the platoon and company commanders in our regiment included just two or three graduates of Soviet military schools. And, correspondingly, graduates of Polish military schools in Soviet subunits. How combat control during an exercise and mutual understanding at all stages of a field exercise would be facilitated then.

Maj V. Pyzhov: And a final—in my view—important remark. You will not find even a small Russian-Polish dictionary on sale in any bookstore of the Voyentorg [Trade Enterprises for Servicemen Administration] system in the Northern Group of Forces. There is no question of a Russian-Polish phrasebook—you will not find one in a month of Sundays.

I think this problem (with dictionaries and phrasebooks) exists in the Central and Southern Groups of Forces and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. The Military Publishing House puts out a lot of book products, but why should our publishing house not help us in this essential matter too?

Shishlin Article Reviews Regional Conflicts

AU271523 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Apr 88 p 4

[Nikolay Shishlin article: "Soviet-American Relations and Regional Conflicts"—special NOVOSTI dispatch for RABOTNICHESKO DELO]

[Text] Regional conflicts should be settled by the countries involved because such conflicts affect primarily the interests of these countries. This, however, by no means signifies that the world public should be indifferent to such explosive situations.

There is a substantial difference, of course, between a sympathetic approach and intervention from abroad. Interference from the outside is an attempt by a given state to impose its selfish will on the participants in a conflict and to overpower them so that the new situation conforms to the interests of the interfering state instead of being in accordance with the interests of the countries directly involved in the conflict.

The Soviet Union and the United States could play a very positive role, provided there existed a common understanding of the totally negative impact of regional conflicts on international relations and the necessity of settling them by political means. The influence and authority of the two great powers are so forceful that the whole world listens to them. Nevertheless, while Moscow consistently voices its support for settling regional conflicts by political means, as the Soviet stand in connection with the Afghanistan problem has confirmed, the opposite can be observed regarding Washington's actions in the Central American crisis.

There can be no question of any direct intervention by the great powers in existing regional conflicts. Despite all this, they can and must act as guarantors of the free, independent, and sovereign development of countries which, for one or the other reason, are involved in such conflicts. Let us take the Middle East, for example. It is quite obvious that a hopeless situation has been created in that area. This is why the idea of holding a conference on the Middle East presupposes not only the participation of the countries directly involved in the conflict, but also that of the great powers which are permanent members of the UN Security Council. This would enable them to play the role of reliable guarantors in the successful settlement of this crisis.

When dealing with the role of the Soviet Union and the United States in regional conflicts, it is necessary to talk about restraint in political behavior. The new political thinking of the Soviet Union on international issues requires strict observance of the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and of their right to freely choose their path of socioeconomic development. As for the policy of the United States in regional conflicts, this country's selfish and sometimes outspoken imperialist interest is permanently present. We are willing to take Washington's real interests into consideration, but its self-proclaimed right of declaring certain areas of the world, which are situated at a great geographical distance from the United States, as belonging to its own sphere of interests, naturally does not contribute to consolidation of international relations.

Without interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries, the great powers can and must play an active role in eliminating so-called "hotbeds of tension" and in transforming them into zones of peace, calm, and stability.

The problem of regional conflicts was discussed between the President of the United States and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee as early as during their meeting in Geneva. It was also discussed in Reykjavik and in Washington. In addition, discussions took place both at the summit level and at the level of experts. It is true that our points of view differ on this issue. Nevertheless, certain constructive elements began to emerge at the Washington meeting. Thus, for example the two sides renounced mutual accusations against each other. This does not signify that we are giving up own basic evaluation of certain actions by the United States causing regional conflicts. Nevertheless, attention is already focused on other questions: It is possible to contribute a great deal to the cooperation between the USSR and the United States in the political settlement of difficult and explosive situations.

Such a constructive approach contains the possibility of enhancing the positive role played by the Soviet Union and the United States in climinating the problems, which complicate contemporary international relations.

Rogachev on Events in Cambodia, China, Japan

PM281036 Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Apr 88 p 3

[Report on interview with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev by Jean-Claude Pomonti in Paris on 26 April]

[Text] Mr Rogachev thinks that the agreement on Afghanistan signed in Geneva on 14 April is a "good example" for solving other regional conflicts, including the Cambodian conflict, even if there are "differences" between the two cases. "The Afghan settlement," he told us on Tuesday, 26 April after his talks with Gaston Sigur, "illustrates the new Soviet thinking. This is an entirely new method of settling conflicts because the United States and the USSR have provided guarantees—a precedent which can be used to serve peace."

In Cambodia's case, he thinks that the number of guarantors must be higher. He mentioned some of them: "First, China. Probably also the USSR and the United States. India can play a constructive role. The ASEAN countries have an important role. Indonesia and Malaysia are at present actively seeking the first steps toward a solution."

Still thinking of the agreement on Afghanistan, he said that holding preliminary talks between the Phnom Penh regime—protected by Vietnamese troops—and neighboring Thailand—which supports the Cambodian resistance—"would be even more difficult" than those which took place for 6 years between the Kabul regime and Pakistan. "However, we think that we must try to establish dialogue between Phnom Penh and Bangkok."

Although he expressed satisfaction with the two meetings which have already taken place between Phnom Penh Prime Minister Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk, and paid "tribute" to the latter's "courage," he thinks that the prince's request for direct contact with Hanoi is "unjustified." "This is not realistic. Prince Sihanouk's argument is that Hun Sen is not independent. In fact, it is Sihanouk who is not independent." Mr Rogachev, therefore, wants dialogue between Sihanouk and Hun Sen "to continue," and he has "not lost hope of others joining them"—a reference to the other two factions of the Khmer resistance, namely Son Sann's front and the Khmers Rouges.

In other words, Moscow supports the plan put forward by Vietnam—first, preliminary talks between Cambodians and, second, expanding the talks to include the other parties concerned. But Mr Rogachev thinks that "the quickest way of solving the Cambodian problem would be to start direct talks between China and Vietnam," and he intends to raise the question during the 12th session of Sino-Soviet negotiations scheduled to take place in Moscow in July. "In seeking a solution," he added, "the aim is not to humiliate anybody. The sides must negotiate on an equal footing, and everybody must make some concessions to find a balance."

The same is true, he explained, of the Sino-Vietnamese dispute over islands in the China Sea, notably the Spratlys, where serious incidents took place recently. "We hope that those involved will show restraint. The conflict must be solved by negotiation. We are opposed to attempts or threats to use force. This increase in tension contrasts with the general atmosphere in Asia, which is one of seeking negotiated settlements to conflicts."

Relations With Beijing [subhead]

On Sino-Soviet relations, he noted that China "welcomed" the agreement on Afghanistan and that China is still "stuck" in an "excessively peremptory approach" to "the one question of Vietnamese withdrawal" from Cambodia. This withdrawal, he said, "is one apsect of the settlement, not the whole settlement." "The Soviets," he added, "think that the time has come for a summit (Sino-Soviet—LE MONDE editor's note). We can also detect an interest on the Chinese side, but there are preconditions, notably that we must exert pressure on Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. The USSR's position is that such a meeting should take place but without preconditions. When the United States and the Soviet Union are increasing the number of summits they have, it is an anomaly for the two big socialist countries not to have such meetings."

Referring to relations between Moscow and Tokyo, Mr Rogachev noted that, after the "marked cooling" of relations in 1987, negotiations on economic cooperation have been reopened, and new consultations are expected in 2 months' time. "But, in general, the situation is unsatisfactory. We are observing a marked deterioration in our relations with Japan, which coincides with a marked improvement in our relations with the Asia-Pacific area." He explained this state of affairs by "Tokyo's increasingly insistent territorial demands" (a reference to the dispute over the North Kuril Islands, claimed by Japan but under Soviet control).

On U.S. bases in the Philippines—for which Washington and Manila are currently negotiating a new lease—he merely reaffirmed that the USSR would "reciprocate" if the Americans abandoned those bases. He thinks that Mrs Aquino "has already overcome the main difficulties," and that Moscow "wishes her every success in solving the major problems that remain." Mr Rogachev's last tour of Southeast Asia gave him the feeling that the region is now aware of the importance of disarmament and has a better grasp of "the interdependence of security problems." In connection with Vietnam, he added that Moscow is trying to "break Vietnam's isolation from the rest of the world."

Arms Pact Problems Able To Be Resolved

PM280845 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3

[Own observer M. Ponomarev "Military-Political Review": "Examination on the Future. The Most Complex Problems Are Unraveled. Key Sphere of Soviet-U.S. Relations. Concessions to Imperial Thinking"]

[Text] Mankind is taking an examination. An examination on the future. An examination of its maturity: Will we be able to base our relations in the international arena on standards of civilization, or will we continue to adhere to a policy of threats, force, and the constant possibility of the use of that force? Yet hitherto it has been precisely in this way that imperialist circles in the Western countries have arranged their policies—and there are numerous examples of that.

Nonetheless, new political thinking is making more and more headway. April 1988 was graphic testimony to that. The peoples learned with satisfaction of the conclusion of the process of a political settlement on Afghanistan and the signing of the Geneva accords. Indeed, this was probably the first model of a peaceful solution to regional conflicts based on the principles of new political thinking. At the same time, it is obvious that the East-West dialogue, which already has to its credit such a

historically important achievement as the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, is noticeably expanding.

The Geneva accords put an end to the undeclared war against Afghanistan, open a way home for the refugees, and make it possible for the limited contingent of Soviet troops to return home. The resolution of the internal aspects of the Afghan problem are now of particular importance. Under these conditions, relations between the USSR and Afghanistan will be based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, reciprocal advantage, and noninterference in internal affairs. The Soviet Union advocates firm and resolute support for the course of national reconciliation in Afghanistan and creation of a government on a broad coalition basis, on the understanding that questions of an internal Afghan settlement are the exclusive province and prerogative of the Afghans themselves. All sides should strictly follow the principle that Afghanistan will be an independent, nonaligned state. Actions cutting across this principle are fraught with dangerous consequences.

Hopeful reports are starting to come out of Central America, too. The national reconciliation process in Nicaragua is gathering pace. The Republic's Government, true to the spirit and the letter of the Guatemala agreements, has entered into direct talks with the contra leaders. These talks are proceeding with difficulty and are constantly broken off—and by no means through the fault of the Sandinist leadership. But a truce has already been declared, a cease-fire is in force, and the search is on for ways of unraveling the complex problems dividing the warring factions in Nicaragua. Managua has made new proposals aimed ultimately at disarming the contras and returning them to peaceful life.

So far these proposals from the opposite side have not been accepted. The contras are being urged into an obstructionist policy by the United States. The talks have been temporarily broken off. But they must be resumed. And there is some hope that an agreement will be found after all. The Soviet Union welcomes the incipient positive trend in Central America and hopes that decisions will be taken regarding the region which will ensure the conditions needed for the peaceful development of Nicaragua and the other Central American countries.

The search for such solutions is being conducted in many directions, and a special role is played by the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. This dialogue, which was given a decisive boost at the Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington summits, is continuing to develop. The latest round of negotiations between Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz has recently been held. One could call their Moscow meeting a jubilee—it was their 25th in the last few years and one of the last before U.S. President R. Reagan's visit to Moscow scheduled for 29 May through 2 June. G. Shultz was received by M.S. Gorbachev.

The leaders of the Soviet and U.S. foreign policy departments discussed virtually the entire range of Soviet-U.S. relations and a number of highly important international problems. Particular attention during the talks was devoted to the key sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations—arms limitation and reduction, first and foremost, in light of preparations for a treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons in compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. Already on the table for the participants in the talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva are the drafts of four documents reflecting the accords on radical reductions in strategic offensive weapons: the texts of a treaty, a protocol on inspections [inspektsiya], a protocol on reequipping or scrapping strategic offensive weapons, and a memorandum of understanding. By no means have all the problems to which these documents are devoted been resolved. The question of the fate of air- and especially sea-launched cruise missiles, along with certain others, are causing particular difficulties. But, as G. Shultz' meetings in Moscow have shown, they can be resolved—and before Reagan's visit to the Soviet Union. True, through the fault of the U.S. side, the Geneva talks had been marking time for quite a long period and the possibility of agreement had started looking very remote. Now, it seems, the situation is changing for the better.

The reaching of agreement on this key problem will undoubtedly have a favorable bearing on the entire range of Soviet-U.S. relations. On the other hand, decisions on other issues—such as limiting and prohibiting nuclear tests, prohibiting chemical weapons, progressing on the question of armed forces and conventional arms reductions in Europe, and settling regional conflicts in the Near East, Afghanistan, Central America, and others—will undoubtedly make it easier to reach agreement on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons and on compliance with the ABM Treaty.

The conclusion of talks on strategic offensive weapons reductions and the signing of a treaty on that score would be a major breakthrough in resolving the vitally important question for all mankind of the complete elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weaponry by the start of the 3d millennium. This would mean that the examination mankind is taking on the future could be passed, but—as before any examination—a lot of work will have to be put in. By everybody. Particularly by those directly responsible for the fate of peace.

Is such responsibility always shown? Regrettably, this cannot be claimed. On the contrary, from time to time the world encountered patent recurrences of confrontation policies, the mania for imperial rule, claims to world hegemony, reliance on force, and even the rash use of force.

We recall the U.S. President's recent speech at the annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington and his speech at the World

Affairs Council in Springfield. Couched in the spirit of the worst traditions of the "cold war" era, they teemed with "instructions" to the Soviet Union as to how it should behave in international and domestic affairs and were a crude distortion of Moscow's intentions and actions. What price, for instance, the following statement by R. Reagan: "It is a duty of conscience for us to pressure the Soviets into better behavior"? No less self-important were the hypocritical statements about "support for democracy" in Nicaragua, although in fact it is a question of continued aid to the contras in their armed struggle against the lawful government.

The President's speeches in Washington and Springfield clearly reveal a reluctance to deal with political realities and a disdain for the interests of others. An attempt was made to revive the faded image in Americans' consciousness of the Soviet Union as the "enemy." Some people very much need this "image" to constantly loom large before the American and other peoples at a time when in the Soviet Union the process of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost is continuing to gather pace, when its prestige in the international arena is growing with every passing day, and when the myth of a "military threat" from the USSR is losing its last vestiges of attractiveness.

Just how is this being done? Why is the development of Soviet-U.S. dialogue being accompanied by such open attacks on the USSR or calls for belligerent neoglobalism voiced in a recent speech by a contender for Reagan's place in the White House—G. Bush, the current U.S. vice president? Clearly, the two of them cannot oppose the pressure that has intensified recently from the most reactionary U.S. circles. Scared by the progress of the development of events in the international arena and the success of the new political thinking proclaimed by the Soviet Union and increasingly supported worldwide, these circles have demanded that leading U.S. Administration figures reaffirm their adherence to the "position-of-strength" policy.

There is no doubt that this reveals the pretensions of the men at the top of U.S. monopoly circles to the establishment of a world order wholly and entirely subordinate to their interests. A definite role is also played by contradictions between the various factions in the U.S. ruling circles, particularly clearly visible in the presidential campaign. All this forces the Washington administration leaders to lurch from one extreme to another—from assurances about their commitment to dialogue with the USSR to rash muscle-flexing.

The dangerous lengths to which this "muscle-flexing" may go is shown by the flagrant act of aggression committed by the United States in the Persian Gulf. Of course, there can be no question of any justification for the piratical actions of the "Islamic Revolution Guards" who attack tankers, lay mines, and obstruct freedom of international navigation. But there is no other description for the "act of revenge" undertaken by the Pentagon after the U.S. ship "Samuel B. Roberts" hit a mine. As a result of actions taken on the President's instructions and with Congressional approval, two Iranian oil platforms were destroyed and two frigates and several launches were sunk or damaged. State-of-the-art U.S. weapons were used against these ships, including laser-guided bombs.

That is what reliance on force and concessions to imperial thinking so prevalent among U.S. ruling circles have led to. Despite all Washington's assurances, the concentration in and around the Persian Gulf of more than 20 U.S. Navy ships, including a carrier group, has exacerbated rather than reduced tension in the region, and has created new threats to shipping rather than ensuring safety of navigation.

That is the natural result when imperial ambitions prevail over the demands of reason.

Matveyev Views West's Debate on Soviet Changes

PM271521 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Vikentiy Matveyev "Political Commentator's Opinion": "Respond With Deeds"—boldface as published]

[Text] Until quite recently, the arrival of such a group in our country would immediately have been hot news. Nowadays, however, the arrival in Moscow of a group of young Americans on a White House grant working for the U.S. Presidential staff and elsewhere in the administration did not seem to attract much attention even from the U.S. journalists in our capital city. None of them attended a meeting which this group had in April at the USSR-United States Society on the Prospekt Kalinina—and I do not think that there is anything wrong in the fact that such visits are now regarded as normal and less than mind-blowing.

As one who took part in that meeting, I should like to comment on the range of questions which the American boys and girls asked us. They were all interested, as they themselves said, in the "changes in the Soviet Union."

The theme has lost none of its topicality. It is a vital topic. In the past few weeks alone, NATO experts in Brussels have met twice to discuss it.

A prestigious East-West security research institute in New York has already produced a number of reports on various aspects of our domestic and foreign policy. These are not merely works of academic interest: They were published to help politicians across the Atlantic elaborate recommendations on the ways in which the United States and other Western countries should respond to the "changes in the USSR."

The report notes among other things: "The West should reconsider the specific changes which the Soviet Union has made to its policy.... The more flexible and subtle

Soviet diplomacy requires that the West develop a more long-term and active policy toward the USSR to include definite criteria for the elaboration of joint approaches to security in a rapidly changing international situation. Unless that is done, we (in the West—V.M. note) will yield the diplomatic initiative entirely to the Soviet Union and will also abandon our responsiblity to future generations for the substantial improvement of East-West relations."

I cited that report because it is indicative of the opinion now being expressed by various organizations and people in the West.

Do not mark time. Reply constructively and creatively to Moscow's new thinking, which is expressed in practical terms in many of the Soviet Union's demarches.

It cannot be said that such appeals made in Western countries to their governments have gone unanswered. To a certain extent, there has even been a response to them at a high official level. For example, official circles in Bonn recently expressed several times the wish that the NATO countries formulate a whole program of measures in the European disarmament sphere, one which takes account of recent Soviet initiatives.

Within NATO's leading organs, however, discussions and debates continue in more or less broad terms on the very advisability of such a program. This, in turn, is having a less than desirable effect on the pace of work at the Vienna meeting of CSCE representatives.

The foreign mass media have been writing about the "Soviet leadership's initiative and boldness" in achieving the accords necessary to facilitate the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

The success of realism and common sense is beyond doubt, but this does not mean that the peace-making process is finally over. There must be considerable efforts from all interested sides in a spirit of goodwill so that Afghanistan can live in conditions of peace as an independent, neutral, and nonaligned state.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan showed the appropriate goodwill; otherwise, there would have been no Geneva agreements. Similar goodwill is also needed from other governments. But on that score, there is much to worry about.

The confrontation between the supporters and opponents of the constructive course is taking place at various levels on a broad range of issues in Washington and in the capitals of other NATO countries and the states connected with them. That much is obvious.

Even certain prominent figures in those countries, such as R. Nixon (as IZVESTIYA has already written) have been making comments which show that one man can have almost diametrically opposed views on dealings with our country. The burden of the past drags them down, blinds their thinking, and prompts them to make all kinds of "recommendations based on strength," whereas life increasingly persistently demands that they consider the common human factor which affects each of us and the planet as a whole.

I shall not hide the fact that I was surprised when, in an off-the-record conservation in Moscow recently, I heard a U.S. senator use words vigorously supported by other Americans (not senators):

"Because of their large military expenditure, our two countries are finding themselves in an increasingly less favorable position regarding those countries whose military spending is not as great. We must lighten that load...."

That is concern of one sort. Here is another sort, expressed in a recent speech by R. Reagan in Las Vegas: "I am worried, seriously worried at the efforts aimed at reducing the U.S. defense buget."

It is well known, however, that our country seeks not unilateral steps in the disarmament sphere but collective, coordinated steps. This also applies to the problem of reducing military budgets. What is preventing Washington from discussing this problem seriously?

These days, commentators in the United States and elsewhere are expressing disappointment that, despite achieving a number of positive results, Secretary of State Shultz' recent visit to Moscow still did not secure the desired fundamental improvement on the problem of reducing the two countries' strategic offensive armaments. Nor was there any forward movement in other important areas of disarmament. The domestic struggle is continuing unabated on this range of questions in Washington, too.

Often when our representatives begin talking about measures aimed at achieving a fundamental improvement in the world, you hear Western politicians assert that the socialist states need to reduce the arms burden more than the developed capitalist countries and that the latter can, therefore, afford to bide their time and even try to put whatever pressure they like on the socialist world.

Plans of this kind, I am convinced, play the main role in the resistance which the supporters of the realistic course in the West encounter in their calls to respond with action to "changes in the USSR."

That U.S. senator with whom I talked answered my question by expressing confidence that this time the "chance will not be missed" and that our two countries will be able to seek mutual understanding and important new accords on not a temporary but a lasting basis.

Time will tell. In the meantime the question of "how to respond to Moscow" remains for the Western governments a topic of lively debate without a concrete answer.

Tolkunov Addresses Nordic Security Seminar
PM280745 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Seminar Held on Problems of the North"]

[Text] Helsinki, 26 Apr—Ways to normalize the military-political climate in the northern regions of our planet and problems of organizing extensive international cooperation there in the sphere of the economy, scientific research, and environmental protection were discussed in the course of a joint Soviet-Finnish interparliamentary seminar held here on questions of ensuring security and peaceful cooperation in the north, including the Arctic. It was organized on the initiative of the Finnish parliamentary leadership. L. Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Soviet of the Union Supreme Soviet, and a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissions headed by I.D. Laptev, secretary of the USSR Parliamentary Group, took part in the seminar on the Soviet side. Speaker of Parliament M. Ahde, who opened the meeting, and a large number of deputies from all parliamentary groups took part on the Finnish side.

A mutually advantageous and constructive exchange of opinions took place on a broad spectrum of questions related to the theme of the seminar.

Addressing the seminar, L.N. Tolkunov drew attention to the multifaceted action program in the northern regions of the planet which M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, put forward last October in his Murmansk speech. This program accumulated and coalesced the ideas and thoughts which had been expressed in the northern countries regarding the strengthening of peace in this area of the globe. It also reflected Finnish proposals for a nuclear-free north and the regulation of naval activity, Norwegian ideas on naval confidence-building measures, the Swedish desire for a nuclear-free Baltic, the Greenlanders' and Lapps' interest in developing cultural ties between the indigenous inhabitants of the polar regions, and many other thoughts of the people of the north. At the same time, we also expressed readiness to discuss counterproposals and ideas. The speaker called for a quest for solutions to all sensitive issues in the region by joint or parallel efforts. This is how we intend to act ourselves. We urge all our partners to do this.

For his part M. Kahiluoto, chief of the Finnish Foreign Ministry Political Department, stressed that the important initiatives put forward by the USSR in Murmansk are imbued with the desire for cooperation. Finland welcomes these proposals and is ready to make a constructive contribution to implementing them.

The Soviet and Finnish parliamentarians, a joint press announcement circulated here points out, stressed the importance of resolving most speedily the task of removing the military threat to mankind and effecting a breakthrough on the path of putting an end to the arms race and embarking on real disarmament. The conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles began this process. It is now necessary to step up efforts aimed at further reducing the accumulated weapons arsenals and imparting an irreversible character to this process. In the opinion of the seminar's participants, the conclusion of a USSR-U.S. agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments would be a radical step in the cause of disarmament.

The seminar's participants believe that reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe, strengthening stability, both on the continent as a whole and in its individual regions, and giving the all-European process new dynamism in the interests of building a "common European home" on the principles of respect for each people's choice are a primary task. A substantial contribution to this cause could be made as a result of efforts aimed at transforming the north of our planet into a true zone of peace and fruitful cooperation.

The meeting participants welcomed and supported the series of initiatives to reduce military confrontation and develop broad peaceful cooperation in the north put forward in Murmansk by M.S. Gorbachev and the ideas for confidence-building measures in the maritime regions of northern Europe voiced in Helsinki in October 1986 by Finnish President M. Koivisto.

The implementation of the measures proposed by the supreme leaders of both countries would help to strengthen stability and trust and, consequently, security in our region and in Europe as a whole.

In this context, the parliamentarians exchanged opinions on the question of a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe. It was stressed that the proposal put forward by Finland is topical and that broad sociopolitical circles in the north European countries support it. Parliamentarians are also joining this movement increasingly actively.

The USSR Supreme Soviet representatives confirmed that the Soviet Union is ready to act as a guarantor of a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe and also to discuss with each of the intereste states or group of states all the problems linked with creation of a nuclear-free zone, including possible measures to be applied to Soviet territory. The representatives of the Finnish parliament welcomed this position from the Soviet Union.

By and large, the parliamentarians expressed satisfaction with the organization of dialogue on the civilian aspects of the Murmansk initiatives. There was definite progress on questions of coordinating scientific research in the Arctic and in the sphere of economic cooperation within

the framework of the so-called Kola Project and in the environmental protection area. The Finnish parliamentarians confirmed their readiness to attend the meeting in Moscow proposed by the USSR Supreme Soviet to discuss measures necessary for the ecological protection of the north.

At the close of the meeting, the Soviet and Finnish parliamentarians advocated the continuation of active intensive dialogue in various forms and at various forums on the entire range of questions broached.

A meeting took place on 25 April between L.N. Tolkunov and the leadership of the Finnish National Committee for European Security. In the course of the conversation, topical problems linked with ensuring security and the development of cooperation on the continent were discussed.

Comparison of Skalkin's 'International Review'

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 24 April carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on Oleg Skalkin's "International Review": "The World This Week." This has been compared with the 24 April PRAVDA First Edition version published in the 27 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 5-8, revealing the following variations:

Page 6, column one, paragraph one, last line reads in the Second Edition: "...strategic offensive weapons.

Positive factors are also..." (omitting paragraph)

Column two, line four from the top of the page, reads in the Second Edition: "...of the treaty. In this case, Congress..." (omitting sentence)

United States & Canada

Bogachev Criticizes U.S. SDI Policy

LD271229 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Reports have appeared in the Western press of serious criticism addressed at the U.S. Star Wars program which has been adopted by the Reagan administration. At our microphone is Vladimir Bogachev, TASS observer on military issues:

[Bogachev] First of all, I would like to say that the criticism of the U.S. Star Wars program which has come to be heard originates from technical specialists in the United States. They criticize the Strategic Defense Initiative primarily for its technical unfeasibility, because the tasks proclaimed by Reagan cannot be implemented. In brief, the antimissile umbrella which the U.S. President promises Americans will have holes. Thus, the Congress Office of Technology assessment has come to the conclusion after 2 years of research that the Soviet Union will be able to successfully counteract the U.S. strike systems in space. Soviet countermeasures, the experts indicate, could turn out to be simpler and cheaper than the U.S. laser and beam weapons.

The Star Wars program is also criticized by a Pentagon scientific consultative group. True, they are not calling for the administration to reject large-scale antimissile defense altogether; they simply consider it more purposeful to deploy the antimissile defenses on the ground, and not in space. Putting it briefly, the Star Wars program is again put in doubt.

Nevertheless, the U.S. Administration continues to defend the program. This was stated in particular by Pentagon Chief Frank Carlucci in an ABC television interview. One wonders why, at a time when U.S. experts are talking about the impossibility of ensuring U.S. security against missile attack through implementation of the strategic defense initiative, the Pentagon is standing its ground. The whole point is that this program has never pursued defensive aims. They know very well in the Pentagon that the USSR will never be the first to attack the United States. SDI has been and remains not a defensive, but an offensive program. It foresees carrying out a first strike. And I would also like to add that the U.S. Administration has still not abandoned its illusory hopes of drawing the Soviet Union into a race of expensive space weaponry and exhausting our country's economy.

It is not for nothing that they say that the United States fears the successful carrying out of the USSR's economic development program more than it fears Soviet missiles. Some listeners may recall the statement by Edward Teller, a vehement enemy of our country and father of the U.S. H-bomb. A few years ago he said: If the Soviets start building their own wide-scale antimissile defenses, then one can consider the job of SDI will have been done. He clearly had in mind the economic consequences of such an arms race for the USSR. The Soviet response to the U.S. Star Wars program, as the leaders of our country have stated repeatedly, will be cheaper, faster, and more effective [as heard]. The Pentagon should not cherish any illusions on this score.

House of Representatives Approves SALT II

LD280944 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 28 Tass—The U.S. House of Representatives by a majority of votes declared on Wednesday for U.S. compliance with the numerical limits on strategic arms defined by the SALT-2 Treaty.

By 240 votes to 174 the House of Representatives endorsed an amendment to a bill on military expenditures for next fiscal year which envisages limiting the number of MIRVs and bombers which carry cruise missiles to the number stipulated in the Salt-2 Treaty.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency points out that the administration is utterly opposed to the amendment.

Loyalty Day, Administration Performance Noted

LD271930 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 27 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports:

President Reagan signed the traditional proclamation on the holding of the Loyalty Day, which is how the U.S. Administration describes May 1. President Reagan declared that for three decades now the United States had been observing May 1 of each year as Loyalty Day out of gratitude for the fact that laws reign in the republic.

This statement, however, does not go together with the information cited in the speech of Attorney-General Edwin Meese at a conference on crime held in Washington. He said that crime rate in the United States had been constantly on a rise since 1984. According to the preliminary information of the Department of Justice, 34.4 million crimes were committed in the United States last year. All the places of detention in the USA are overcrowded. More than 581,000 convicts were kept in federal prisons and state prisons by the end of last year, the record number for the entire history of the United States.

The U.S. Administration itself sets the example of violating laws. On the day when the attorney-general addressed the conference in Washington, it was announced that the National Lawyers Guild struck his name off the list of 100 leading jurors [as received] of the USA as Meese was facing inquest on charges of corruption, financial machinations and abuse of power.

The performance of the current administration in the area of observing laws is more disappointing than that of any administration since World War Two, the TASS correspondent was told by Professor Richard Falk of the International Law, Politics and International Affairs Center of International Studies at Princeton University. The Iran-contra affair is a striking example of disregard for laws and the Constitution of the USA. In international politics, the Reagan administration is bypassing the fundamental norms of international law. This is shown by the United States invasion of Grenada, bombing of Libya, the use of force in the Persian Gulf.

Maslennikov Views U.S. Trade 'Discrimination'
PM271151 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Maslennikov article: "Taking Stock of New Realities. What Is Impeding the Development of USSR-U.S. Economic Ties"]

[Text] The 11th American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC] annual conference held recently in Moscow and the 10th session of the Soviet-U.S. commission on questions of trade demonstrated the extensive potential for developing equitable and mutually advantageous economic ties between our two countries.

Speaking at a reception in the Kremlin on the occasion of the ASTEC conference, M.S. Gorbachev described as absurd the current situation whereby the USSR and the United States, in whose countries between one-fourth and one-third of the world's scientific and technical potential is concentrated, continue in relations with one another to use this potential mainly for purposes of military confrontation rather than for mutual cooperation. The new thinking, he said, must finally enter the sphere of economic relations.

Needless to say, the Soviet Union is not confining itself solely to calling for the organization of constructive trade and economic relations with the United States and other countries of the world. The restructuring gathering momentum in our country is disclosing previously unprecedented opportunities for extending trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation to new spheres.

The U.S. participants in the Moscow ASTEC meeting showed great interest in this potential. A Soviet foreign economic consortium and a U.S. trade consortium set up in the course of the meeting signed a protocol on their intentions to develop long-term cooperation on major joint projects in the agro-industrial complex, machine building, the chemical industry, and a number of other sectors. Specific agreements were concluded, including for the creation of joint enterprises.

All this illustrates not only the presence of objective conditions for organizing really broad economic cooperation of genuine mutual benefit between our countries but also the considerable potential of goodwill for realizing the opportunities which are opening up. If these opportunities are not fully realized and if the U.S. share in USSR foreign trade has amounted to little more than 1 percent and the USSR'S share of U.S. foreign trade to only 0.5 percent, the responsibility for this lies not with the two countries' firms and organizations, which are trying to organize cooperation with one another, but with the men at the helm of U.S. politics.

It is no secret that people in these circles regard trade sometimes not only as a bridge for mutual understanding between the peoples but also as a tool for pressure and for achieving particular foreign policy aims. They guide the pen of those who compile the notorious "Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [Cocom] lists," prohibiting the export to the USSR and other socialist countries of more than 100,000 named goods, above all products reflecting state of the art science and technology. Should one be surprised after this if total USSR-U.S. bilateral trade does not at present amount to even $2 billion, although under normal conditions, as ASTEC President J. Giffen stated in Moscow, we could supply one another with goods and services worth $10-15 billion in the next 3-7 years.

One cannot fail to see that trade and political discrimination against the USSR and other socialist countries also greatly damages the United States itself. The positions which the Americans have relinquished in trade with the Soviet Union as a result of all manner of sanctions and embargoes, E. Solk [name as published], a Chicago businessman, wrote recently in the PEOPLES DAILY WORLD, are immediately seized by other countries' companies.

Nevertheless, the United States, judging by official Washington leaders' statements, has no intention of abandoning the policy which they are implementing. "The growing importance of world trade means that foreign policy and economic policy are becoming increasingly interdependent," G. Bush, vice-president and U.S. Republican Party presidential candidate, said recently while speaking at the convention of the U.S. Society of Newspaper Editors. "Our foreign policy," he said, "must be determined by a number of basic principles." Carrying out operations from "a position of strength" was first on his list of these principles.

I must say that there have been attempts to act in this way, notably on economic questions, not only with regard to the Soviet Union. For approximately 30 years now, the United States has not lifted its trade and economic blockade of Cuba. In recent years alone first Libya and Iran, then Nicaragua and Panama have been the object of economic arm-twisting. Having assigned itself the role of world economic gendarme, Washington is increasingly often beginning to dictate what even such close and influential U.S. allies as Britain and Japan can and cannot trade, which has provoked frequent protests in these countries' business and political circles.

As is well known, official Washington spokesmen are not averse in their high-flown speeches to arguing the "advantages of the free flow of goods" and defending the "sacred right to private enterprise." The only trouble is, that they see these rights almost as a God-given prerogative to interfere in other states' internal affairs and dictate not only their external but also their internal policy.

The orderly and stable development of the modern world is incompatible with attempts to foist one's will and idea of the best social system on other peoples by economic and political diktat whatever the pretext. The sooner those at the helm of U.S. politics realize this, the better it will be for the peoples of the entire world.

Dobrynin Meets With University Professors

LD201735 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, has received Professor Marshall Shulman of Columbia University, a well-known American specialist on international relations, and his wife, Professor Colette Shulman, at their request.

The conversation, which was marked by frankness and goodwill, discussed prospects for the development of Soviet-U.S. relations and the contribution by scientists of the two countries to promoting constructive cooperation and bettering mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States.

Marshall Shulman noted that Mikhail Gorbachev's call for increasing the role of scientists in world politics had evoked a positive response in the U.S. scientific community which, he said, was following the perestroyka drive in the Soviet Union with special interest. They saw clearly, he explained, the relationship between perestroyka and efforts to save humanity from nuclear annihilation.

Dobrynin and the Shulmans expressed the common opinion that it was important to step up cooperation between Soviet and American scientists to foster new thinking in international politics, in tackling the problems of disarmament and in the multifaceted interaction of the two countries on a constructive basis.

Official Rebuts U.S. Postal Violation Claims

PM250811 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA correspondent S. Tikhomirov interview with B. Butenko, chief of the USSR Ministry of Communications Postal Main Administration, under the rubric: "'D' (Disinformation) Bomb": "General Delivery, for the President?"; date and place of interview not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction and last paragraph is editorial office comment]

[Text] In its recent "commentary reflecting the U.S. Government viewpoint," VOA announced in part that Soviet authorities' violations of the rules of international mailing rules were being discussed at hearings in the U.S. Congress. Congressman B. Gilman, who is presiding over the hearings, said that these violations have not ceased with the arrival of glasnost and restructuring.

PRAVDA correspondent S. Tikhomirov asked V. Butenko, chief of the Ministry of Communications Postal Main Administration, to comment on this report.

[Butenko] I will start by saying that this kind of "news" is by no means new to us. Our postal workers are familiar with the name of Mr Gilman, who has specialized in postal problems, often of his own making, for some years now. For instance, at the 19th Universal Postal Union Congress held in Hamburg, the Soviet delegation was forced to make an official statement in protest against this congressman's frankly provocative activity aimed at undermining normal postal communications between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Incidentally, following the Hamburg Universal Postal Union forum, relations between our two countries' mail services "went well." Today we share the opinion that they are distinguished by dynamism and constructiveness. We have annual meetings with U.S. colleagues and questions raised there, often of an extremely controversial nature, are resolved in a businesslike fashion.

[Tikhomirov] Why, pray, is Mr Gilman angry?

[Butenko] A difficult question to answer unequivocally...

[Tikhomirov] Presumably he wouldn't have begun organizing special hearings in such a respectable institution as the Congress on the basis of trivialities....

[Butenko] No, but one triviality is that even such a mail "specialist" as Mr Gilman is evidently not familiar with the main enactments of the Universal Postal Union. We firmly abide by them. The overwhelming majority of mail returned to the United States comprises items listed as prohibited. This is a kind of taboo which operates in every country. The U.S. mail service also acknowledges this. I will allude to the recent statement by one of the leaders of the U.S. mail administration, W. Johnson, who stressed that late in 1987 and 1988 the U.S. and USSR mail services organized constructive cooperation after elaborating mutually acceptable rules for sending and receiving foreign mail.

[Tikhomirov] Consequently, the accusations against the Soviet Union of certain international mailing violations are nothing more than a bluff?

[Butenko] More likely overt disinformation. I will cite a few figures. In 1987 we received 2,093 complaints from our U.S. colleagues concerning the opening of registered mail, of which only 27 were confirmed. At the same time, of the 893 complaints which we directed at the United States, 218 cases of lost items were confirmed by the Americans. Is it not true that the quality of the work

differs? However, we are not calling for hearings in the USSR Supreme Soviet and so forth. On the contrary, realizing the complexity of our work we—and I want to stress this once again—want constructive cooperation with our colleagues from the U.S. mail administration.

[Tikhomirov] Let us return to the VOA commentary. It affirms in particular that "in free countries people send and receive mail every day without misgivings. But in communist countries the mail, like other aspects of daily life, is regarded by the authorities as something to control and monitor."

What could you say to this?

[Butenko] To be honest, I do not see the point of getting into polemics with these "voices" even if they do reflect the "viewpoint of the U.S. Government." I will cite just one example—in my opinion an eloquent one—(and there are dozens of them), the example of a letter sent by a war veteran from Novosibirsk Oblast to U.S. President R. Reagan. It was returned by the Americans because of the impossibility of ascertaining the addressee(?!).

From the editorial board. Would you not agree that this is not suitable subject matter for a routine VOA commentary reflecting the administration viewpoint? However, could it be that people there not only do not know that the White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue or the name of the U.S. President, but they don't even know where America itself is [adres samoy Ameriki]?

Main U.S. Presidential Contenders Profiled

PM261125 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Apr 88 p 3

[Own correspondent V. Sisnev dispatch: "On the Run-Up to the White House. The U.S. Election Race"]

[Excerpts] Washington, April—Before occupying the presidential chair in the White House Oval Office, a contender must make it through several phases in the election race, which demands a great deal of nervous and physical energy. During the primaries, the man aspiring to supreme power travels thousands of miles by land, air, and sea, shakes tens of thousands of hands, and gives an incalculable number of speeches at rallies and on television. [passage omitted]

Ten men—four from the ruling Republican Party and six from the Democratic—started the race for the cherished seat. After 2 months, their ranks had considerably depleted. A single leader emerged in the Republican camp—Vice President G. Bush—who right from the start had the maximum funds plus the advantage of being the only contender with national political experience, that is, of being well known to most Americans.

In the Democratic camp, to everyone's surprise, the main clash has been between Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis and black leader Jesse Jackson, a past comrade in arms of Martin Luther King, who was shot by a hired killer.

The surprise is focused not so much on the former as on the latter, although it has been said and written of Dukakis that he lacks personal charm and eloquence. Jackson's political opponents, professionals from within his own party, and the press were convinced that Jackson's participation in the race was—owing to the color of his skin—more a symbolic gesture than a real bid for the Presidency. The primaries now under way in certain states are still far from being over. But almost all the other Democrats thought to have much greater chances have fallen by the wayside. Whereas Jackson, who had neither the money nor the apparatus of Dukakis (the latter's election fund ran to $13.5 million), was suddenly virtually neck and neck with the creator of the "Massachusetts miracle." What is now called the "Jackson phenomenon" was born.

I must say a few words about the "Massachusetts miracle," which has indisputably helped Dukakis' advance. On becoming governor in 1974, this son of a family of Greek immigrants, who graduated from the prestigious Harvard University with a degree in law, was able to gather round him energetic and quite progressive people who believe, as he does, that the way to a voter's heart is through employment and social security. The unemployment rate in Massachusetts is now half the national average.

The 55-year-old Dukakis talks with pride in his speeches of the fact that his state is the only one to have adopted a special law, on his initiative, making it mandatory to make provision for people deprived of work following the unavoidable closure of an enterprise. Moreover, a draft law is in preparation on a universally accessible health service. All this, of course, makes a favorable impression on the country's citizens, who are suffering from chronic mass unemployment and constant reductions in appropriations for social needs. Dukakis does not merely brag about his past achievements; he states that it is his aim to perform a comparable "miracle" in all 50 states.

As for the "Jackson phenomenon," the representative of the black population is indebted to white voters for his success. Black Americans alone could not have managed this even in the southern states. That can only mean one thing: His program touches the hearts and minds of all those who expected too much of Reagan and his administration and were consequently disappointed.

He advocates transferring funds from military programs to peaceful programs to help economic development and employment. He condemns corporations that close down enterprises in the United States and move them to places where there is cheap labor. If he became president,

he would restrict capital investment abroad. Jackson supports the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, favors a 50-percent reduction in strategic missile weapons, and opposes the "Star Wars" plan. He is demanding an end to support for the Nicaraguan contras and the toughening of sanctions against the RSA. He criticizes the bloody reprisals against Palestinians in the occupied territories and believes that they have a right to sovereignty, provided that Israel's security is guaranteed.

Jackson and Dukakis hold similar positions on many important issues. Especially with regard to military and foreign policy, where the only substantial difference is that the governor prefers to refrain from clear-cut comments on the Palestinian problem. There is a quite simple explanation for this. Through his wife, Dukakis is on intimate terms with well-off Jewish circles, from which he has largely derived the election campaign funds that have put him in an advantageous position compared with other Democrats.

It is always difficult to predict events, but many trade unionists, journalists, and even certain members of the lowest ranks of the incumbent administration are of the opinion that "America is ripe for change," that is, the opposite camp has a real chance this time.

Today it looks quite likely that Dukakis and Jackson will change from being rivals to being partners at the Democratic forum in July. It is easy to predict who will be in front and who behind in this tandem. Because the idea that "America is still not ready for a black president" continues to be stubbornly voiced even in Democratic circles. [passage omitted]

Dukakis and Jackson have already been mentioned above, but as for Bush, probably the only substantial difference between his economic plans and what has been done under Reagan is his intention to freeze state expenditure for 4 years. He also supports the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and a 50-percent reduction in strategic missiles but he is, like the incumbent president, committed to the SDI program ("Star Wars"). Thus, he advocates aid for the Nicaraguan contras and for all "freedom fighters against Marxism" in regional conflicts in general. On the other hand, he promises to rapidly begin talks with the Soviet Union "on a broad range of questions." [passage omitted]

IZVESTIYA Views Democratic Nomination Race

PM251405 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 88 Morning Edition pp 1,5

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch under the rubric "Reports From Abroad": "The United States: Riddle With Two Known Quantities"]

[Text] New York—A passerby is stopped in New York Central Park late at night. A revolver is put to his head and he is asked: "Well then, who are you going to vote for? Dukakis, Gore, or Jackson?"

The man sighs heavily and manages to gasp: "Shoot."

This anecdo e, which was greeted with loud laughter, was related by Albert Gore, which immediately disposed the audience to him; they had gathered to hear what the senator and his fellow contenders—Governor Dukakis and the Reverend Jackson—had brought with them to New York, the state where the primaries are going to be held on 19 April.

The joke was to people's taste: Apart from anything else, it comported with a style greatly valued by Americans, who are able to laugh at themselves and are not afraid to do so in front of everyone. But if the joke is to be taken seriously, it can be interpreted in two ways: Either the New York electorate remains unimpressed by all the Democratic contenders or voters are finding it hard to decide which of the three to vote for, as there is not a great deal to choose between them.

The voter is feeling confused. Here is fresh illustration of this. A survey recently carried out by the Institute of Public Opinion in New York State showed that New Yorkers clearly prefer M. Dukakis, who has the support of almost half of the respondents. But the same survey also reveals an interesting trend: People are mainly voting for the Massachusetts governor because they consider him an experienced politician and the candidate who will be able to take the lead in the competition with George Bush, the Republican contender, while other voters are making Jackson their choice because they feel he is taking a successful stand on the key issues and problems faced by the United States today.

The dilemma is arising whereby there is one candidate who is electable, so to speak, but with a platform which for some reason fails to spark the enthusiasm on which the candidate himself would like to be able to depend, and there is another contender with a comparatively attractive platform but without any particular hope of success. I have left out the third candidate—Senator Gore. I have done this deliberately because I am sure that he will not even make it as far as the national Democratic Party convention but will drop out of the race. Yes, Gore did not make a bad showing in the series of primaries in the southern states, because he is a southerner himself. But he has been unable to take his success in the south with him to other states.

And so, there are two Democrats—Dukakis and Jackson. They are very different in character, outlook, and social origin. The sharp, fiery Jackson and the almost melancholic Dukakis, a politician who has never before in his life held elected political office and a longstanding governor of one of the most prestigious states in America—not big, but prestigious....

After a successful campaign in the southern states and an extremely successful one in Michigan State, Jackson took a sharp fall in Wisconsin, after which, as THE WASHINGTON POST remarked, "one of the big leaders of the

Democratic Party sighed with relief and said 'Thank God!'" I do not think that the party boss was being racist, although I would not like to categorically rule out this possibility. I do think, however, that he was being realistic as a politician who could not fail to see—as confirmed by a survey carried out by the weekly TIME—that 49 percent of the electorate would vote against the Democrats if Jackson were to become the official candidate.

The Democrats have lost in four of the last five presidential elections. On two occasions they lost ignominiously, including in 1984 when Reagan won in 49 of the 50 states. Could the same thing happen again? The leaders of the Democrats would not like to allow this possibility—not simply because losing would be shameful in itself, but also because the process of demoralization within Democratic ranks which began with Carter's defeat and Reagan's triumph in the 1980 elections could become irreversible.

In other words, the Democrats now need a rock-solid candidate, the kind of figure who would have the maximum chance of success in the fight against George Bush, and who would have no obvious minus points. And in America today, however much you may try to get away from it, having a black skin is a minus.

But a quality characteristic of Dukakis is also considered a minus: He is boring and incapable of being dynamic or compelling souls to soar and emotions to explode. I have compared some of the program statements by both candidates. There are few differences. Liberal tendencies are very noticeable in the stands taken by both of them—particularly on matters concerning economic and foreign policy. But if there are few differences, why does it appear that Dukakis is valued for his "electability" and Jackson for his platform? The secret obviously lies in the fact that Jackson can present his platform in such a way as to make you think: That is exactly what needs to be done.

...Everyone says that the New York elections are extremely important. Be that as it may, a battle is being fought for the 255 delegates this state will send in July to Atlanta for the party convention. But I do not think that these elections will essentially cast any real light on the distribution of forces.

Radio Propaganda on Restructuring Viewed
PM271045 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 88 p 3

[NOVOSTI observer V. Ostrovskiy article for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA under the rubric "Let's Take a Closer Look": "The Murmur of the Radio Waves. Western Ideological Centers Are Trying To Cast Aspersions on the Changes Taking Place in Our Country"]

[Text] Last December USIA Director C. Wick said in conversation with a Soviet journalist: "Why should we not avail ourselves of the experience of the mutual verification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in our work? If, for instance, we at VOA say something that from your viewpoint does not correspond to the truth, it might be worth your while to rebut it on the basis of documentary evidence." VOA Director R. Carlson (a subordinate of C. Wick) believes that "it is always useful to listen to what others say about you." Three months ago, at the editorial office of the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS, he said that the radio station's management tries to ensure that VOA broadcasts truthful, accurate, and honest information.

Let's take a closer look to find out whether this is actually so. Let us turn to the policy creed of our "partners" on the other side of the ocean. This is what they based their activities on when they came to the White House, although they do not speak about it openly. I have in front of me a USIA memorandum from 1981 which proclaims the destabilization of the USSR and its allies by means of kindling contradictions between peoples and governments as the main aim of this propaganda apparatus. They were gambling on undermining the Soviet society ideologically from within and on destabilizing it socially.

Now times have changed, the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has become an important factor in international relations, not to mention on restructuring, democratization of the Soviet society, and deepening of glasnost. These processes have not only frightened the West; they have forced it to reorganize its propaganda machine, to increase its rate of operation, and to partly replace its flywheels. The machine is turning faster, but it seems unable to rid itself of its customary methods of spreading disinformation about us.

A year ago VOA warned that "after the implementation of the reforms, the United States will be faced with a terrible opponent in the shape of the USSR." Deutsche Welle echoed the U.S. Big Brother: "It is frightening to even contemplate the big progress that the Soviet Union may achieve as a result of its initiatives." A month later in the same year, 1987, VOA tried to intimidate us: "The reform may mean serious changes for the Soviet workers including unemployment and the loss of all privileges which they enjoyed under the old system such as minimal inflation and cheap, if low quality, housing."

It was no accident that R. Reagan, speaking at the annual congress of the National Association for Radio and Television Broadcasting (10 April) called on us to open our door wider to Western news media. "The Soviet airwaves must be open to Western broadcasts," he said. The U.S. President is convinced that the communist world has erected an invisible "wall" to obstruct "the free flow of information and ideas." In order to push their ideas through, "the voices" are resorting to all kind of tricks.

And, of course, USIA is trying to adapt itself to our restructuring. This is also noticeable in the radio broadcasts themselves. There has even been feigned interest in our glasnost, and fears expressed have been expressed that it might be only temporary in the USSR.

Identical principles can also be glimpsed in the work of other Western radio stations. Take, for instance an English broadcast about our party's 27th congress 2 years ago. According to the BBC, the final version of the CPSU Statutes contains "no changes whatsoever in comparison with the draft version published in the fall," despite the fact that a number of substantial corrections, amendments, and additions were made from among the proposals submitted during the nationwide discussion. False accusations are a method widely used in this station's broadcasts. Two months ago, it accused the "International Fund for the Survival and Development of Mankind" of making a propaganda attempt to pillory the Western side in the human rights field.

Back in February this year, the British station announced that a mobile air brigade consisting of 5,000 servicemen would be set up in Great Britain for the contingency of a breakthrough by Soviet tanks on the North German Plain in the FRG. This marked the beginning of Western media preparations for the NATO Council summit which was held on 2-3 March in Brussels. The idea of "Soviet superiority in conventional forces" was its dominant theme. A month earlier, VOA tried hard to persuade listeners that according to studies carried out by the U.S. long-term strategy commission, Soviet strikes on NATO'S flanks in Norway or Turkey were a possibility.

Although U.S. Senator Levin, who heads the subcommittee on conventional arms, recently published a report in which he firmly states that a balance, albeit an unstable one, in conventional arms and armed forces exists in Europe, M. Thatcher has set about exporting the fear of the "Soviet military threat" overseas. In an interview to the U.S. NBC television network in February, she declared that the Soviet Union has "a vast superiority in conventional arms which will assure it tremendous power over Europe even if it never uses them."

The range of topics covered by the various radio stations is relatively broad and it is impossible to mention them all in this article. However, all aspects of our life, our history, and our plans and programs are watched by the beady eyes of Western propagandists and special services.

As you can see, the West's propaganda efforts are aimed at breeding all kind of misgivings in listeners in the Soviet Union and sowing lack of faith in the possibility that the aims set by our party can be achieved. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, claimed with good reason at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum that the "radio voices'" attempts to transfer the ideological struggle on questions of restructuring and disarmament onto Soviet territory had intensified.

Bilateral Consultations on Fisheries Held

LD212124 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 21 TASS—Participants in the Soviet-American consultations on fisheries noted the importance for its development, of the personal notes on the questions of fisheries, exchanged between Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz in Moscow on February 21. Participants in the consultations, which began on April 18, praised the results of the meeting of officials from the fishing industries of the USSR and the United States in Khabarovsk in March as well as the proposals it examined on the setting up of joint Soviet-American fishing enterprises.

The participants in the consultations examined issues connected with working out of a new Soviet-American agreement on mutual relations in the field of fisheries.

Special attention was given to the large-scale and unregulated fishing of Alaska pollack in the central part of the Bering Sea locked between the economic zones of the USSR and the United States. In this connection, they discussed possible coordinated measures by the two countries aimed at preventing the depletion of Alaska pollack stocks in the Bering Sea and at preservation and rational exploitation of other kinds of resources in the Bering Sea.

The consultations continue.

Talks 'Very Fruitful'

PM251117 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Fishing Questions Discussed"]

[Text] Washington, 23 Apr—Soviet-U.S. consultations on a wide range of issues in the field of fishing and of mutual interest took place in Washington in the period 18 through 22 April. The Soviet delegation was headed by V.K. Zilanov, USSR deputy minister of the fish industry. The U.S. side was headed by Edward Wolfe, deputy assistant secretary of state for oceans and fishing.

Both delegations described the talks as very fruitful. Following the appeal to activate efforts to develop relations in the field of fishing envisaged in the joint Soviet-U.S. summit statement made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan in Washington 10 December 1987 and also in the joint statement made by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz during their talks in Moscow in February 1988, the delegations examined possible paths

of collaboration between the two sides on a broad range of questions relating to the conservation, rational use, and management of the sea's live resources. In accordance with the accord reached in Moscow in January 1988 regarding the creation of a working group on questions of fishing in the Bering Sea, the delegations discussed questions of fishing in the Bering Sea connected with the conservation of stocks in connection with the substantially increased level of fishing in regions beyond the two states' economic zones.

It was noted that a large proportion of the food fish in the Bering Sea is common to the economic zones of both the Soviet Union and the United States while stocks of Alaska pollock are distributed both inside and outside the two states' economic zones. The sides voiced serious concern in connection with the adverse effect of large-scale unregulated fishing outside their economic zones for the stocks of pollock which are part of the Bering Sea's ecological complex.

The delegations agreed that it is essential to develop further cooperation between the USSR and the United States in implementing their rights and fulfilling their duties under international law in order to coordinate the conservation and management of the Bering Sea's live maritime resources. In addition the sides agreed jointly to hold in the United States in 1988 a scientific symposium with the participation of scientists from all interested states to examine the state of fish resources in the Bering Sea.

The sides also discussed the question of implementing the temporary agreement on fishing with regard to the United States' access to the USSR's economic zone signed 21 February by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. The sides also examined the question of the speediest preparation and conclusion of a broad agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on mutual relations in the field of fishing.

Publishing House Prepares Goodwill Games Book

LD201708 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—Soviet publishers Phizkulturai Sport, or Physical Culture and Sports (FIS) have launched the preparation of the first book of the two-volume Soviet-American edition "USSR-USA: Goodwill", the newspaper SOVETSKIY SPORT wrote today.

This illustrated edition will be brought out to coincide with the Goodwill Games in Seattle in 1990. The decision to this effect was passed at the recent negotiations in Moscow of representatives of the USSR and USA which were fruitful, according to Donald Ellegood, director of the University of Washington press publishing house.

His opinion was shared by FIS Director Vasiliy Zhiltsov who said that specific agreements had been reached in the field of preparing the two-volume edition which will see the light simultaneously in the Soviet Union and the USA on the eve of the Goodwill Games in January 1990. The term of publication has been fixed and the number of illustrations and the names of authors have been defined.

The publication of the joint edition is the first sign of direct ties of Soviet publishers with their American colleagues.

China

PRAVDA Cites Zhao Ziyang on Tibet Policy

PM291009 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ensuring Equality"]

[Text] Beijing, 26 Apr—Defending the unity of the motherland and ensuring equality, unity, and general prosperity for all of China's nationalities—that is the main party and state course on the national question, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, stated at the First All-China Conference on National Unity, which has opened here.

The people who recently provoked the riots in Tibet, the CPC leader said, do not express Tibetans' interests and aspirations. They are the agents of foreign anti-Chinese forces which are trying to divide the country. On the one hand, we must persistently implement a national and religious policy which has justified itself through practice and overcome the consequences of the "Cultural Revolution" in order to preserve national unity. And on the other—acting strictly in accordance with the law—we must resolutely curtail activity aimed at splitting our motherland. The CPC Central Committee general secretary stressed the need to guarantee in practice national minorities' right to self-government, a right provided for by the law on national regional autonomy. According to him, this right has not been accorded in certain cases. Zhao Ziyang acutely stated that the implementation of the law in question is very closely linked with reform of the economic and political structure in the areas inhabited by national minorities.

Zhao Ziyang Chairs PRC Politburo Meeting

LD280941 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 28 TASS—The Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee met for its regular sessions here on April 15 and April 27, XINHUA News Agency reports. They were held under the chairmanship of Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CCP Central Committee.

The Politburo discussed the remarks and proposals by deputies of the National People's Congress and members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which were made during the sessions of these bodies held recently. The Politburo assessed the outcome of the sessions as new shifts on the way towards developing socialist democracy and strengthening legality in China.

The Politburo of the CCP Central Committee considered measures further to develop the education system, problems of price setting, and also questions of improving the style of party work and administrative discipline. Respective decisions were adopted on the proposals of the working groups which studied these matters. The session underscored the need to intensify the ideological and political work among the Communists, experienced workers and popular masses in the present crucial period of the reform when four drives for modernization are in progress in the country.

PRC Objects to Japanese Official's Remarks

LD280335 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 27 TASS—A spokesman for the PRC Foreign Ministry today condemned pronouncements of chief of Japan's national land agency Seisuke Okuno. It was noted that the Chinese side is perplexed at and deplores the speech of the Japanese official contradicting "diplomatic norms and facts of history."

Answering a question from a correspondent at a briefing in Beijing, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Okuno's speech is an insult to the feelings of the Chinese people and other Asian peoples that had been subjected to Japanese aggression.

The XINHUA News Agency reported that on April 22 Okuno visited the Yasukuni militaristic temple in his official capacity and "brazenly tried to rehabilitate Japan's aggressive war."

The PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman urged the Japanese side to adhere to the principles of the Chinese-Japanese joint statement on the normalization of relations and the treaty of peace and friendship between China and Japan.

Veteran Communist's Birthday Marked in Moscow

OW2704211488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] A soiree was held in Moscow on 26 April to mark the 110th anniversary of the birth of Wu Yuzhang, an old Chinese revolutionary and veteran soldier of the Chinese Communist movement. People speaking at the soiree said that Wu Yuzhang was the Soviet Union's good friend, who called for strengthening the friendship between the Soviet Union and China. Present at the soiree were members of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, activists of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, Soviet Sinologists, people from all walks of life in Moscow, and workers and staffers of the Chinese Embassy.

Northeast Asia

Gerasimov: New Mood Needed for Gorbachev Visit

OW2804085788 Tokyo KYODO in English 0857 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Honolulu, April 27 KYODO—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said Wednesday Japan should improve its political environment before Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev visits Tokyo. Gerasimov made the statement in a news conference after attending the annual general assembly of the American Newspaper Publishers Association in Honolulu.

Japan extended an invitation to Gorbachev to visit Japan at the earliest date when former Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari met Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in New York in September 1986.

But Gerasimov criticized Japan for its anti-Soviet stance over the disputed northern territories off Hokkaido, now held by the Soviets. Gerasimov also pointed out that Moscow is concerned about Japanese defense budget expenditure exceeding the 1 percent of gross national product (GNP) ceiling.

As for the China-Soviet summit meeting Gorbachev has proposed, Gerasimov said he hoped for a flexible Chinese attitude, saying the U.S.-Soviet summit came about despite existing political obstacles such as Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Japan Proposes Compromise at Salmon Talks

OW2804044588 Tokyo KYODO in English 0318 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 28 KYODO—Japan has proposed a compromise package on salmon fishing talks with the Soviet Union to achieve a quick solution, Japanese sources said Wednesday. Under the package, Japan will have its annual catch quota reduced from its previous demand of 30,000 metric tons to 24,500 tons, the same as last year. Japan will also withdraw its previous demand that the Soviets offer a substitute fishing area to Japan in case Japan is completely banned from operating in the U.S. 200-mile economic zone. Instead, Japan will lower its payment of "fishery cooperation funds" to the Soviets, the sources said. At the same time, Japan will withdraw its demand that the Soviets allow medium-sized Japanese boats to shift its operations from the current restricted zone to a broader zone.

The Soviets have shown some understanding on Japan's proposal to lower its fishery fund payments but insisted on maintaining Japan's annual quota of 20,000 metric tons, the sources said. Meanwhile, the Soviets have

proposed that negotiations on Japanese fishing inside the Soviet's 200-mile economic zone should be initiated with the Soviets by Japanese companies, which will jointly build a hatchery with the Soviets in the near future. The Japanese side, however, is asking the Soviets to negotiate the issue between both governments, the sources said.

Parliamentary Group Meets With Japan's Uno

LD261921 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Tokyo April 26 TASS—A delegation of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR headed by chairman of the Soviet-Japanese section of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR Ivan Gladkikh now staying in Japan at the invitation of the Parliamentary Association of Japanese-Soviet Friendship, visited Japanese parliament and had conversations with Speaker of the House of Representatives Kenzaburo Hara and Speaker of the House of Councillors Masaaki Fujita.

The Soviet parliamentarians spoke in detail about the process of perestroyka taking place in various areas of the life of the Soviet people. The Soviet side emphasised the striving to expand contacts between parliamentarians of the two countries. The Japanese parliamentarians also declared for the development of ties between the supreme legislative bodies of the two countries. They noted that the widening of such contacts is an indispensable condition for the development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

The Soviet delegation met today with Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno. During the meeting both sides expressed the striving to continue a political dialogue.

The Soviet parliamentarians had meetings with general secretary of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party Shintaro Abe, with chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan Takako Doi and general secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Party Komeito Naohiko Okubo.

Plenary Meeting Held

OW2804104388 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Report by correspondent Potapov]

[Text] The plenary session of the 14th Japan-USSR Friendship Parliamentarian Union was held in Tokyo on 27 April. Speaking at its opening ceremonies, Chairman Yoshio Sakurauchi and two members, Bunpei Hara and Kenzaburo Hara, noted that exchanges between parliaments of the two countries and in other areas have been brisk since the last plenary session, and stressed that the Japan-USSR Friendship Parliamentarian Union regards the overall improvement of the USSR-Japan relations as its supreme task.

In an action plan adopted by a unanimous resolution at the session, the delegates, who attended the meeting representing more than 350 member parliamentarians of the two countries' legislatures, took note of the need to gain expanded exchanges between the two parliaments and to achieve sweeping advance in Japan-USSR relations for peace and friendship between the Japanese and Soviet peoples.

Gladkikh, chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Labor and Social Affairs who is heading the Soviet delegation to Japan at the invitation of the Japan-USSR Friendship Parliamentarian Union, spoke on perestroyka and democratic reforms in Soviet society in his greeting remarks, and also dwelt on the true nature of the recent Soviet peace proposal. Chairman Gladkikh pointed out the major contributions made by the Japan-USSR Friendship Parlamentarian Union for the improvement and overall advance of Soviet-Japanese relations, and expressed hopes for the success of its activities in the future.

Soviet Ambassador to Japan Solovyev also delivered a speech at the plenary session.

Biryukov Views Reaction to Okuno War Remarks

LD271846 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

Tokyo has again found itself in the focus of an international furor following scandalous remarks by a Japanese cabinet member.

They have sparked off mounting protests in neighboring countries and in Asian nations that fell victim to Japanese aggression during World War II. Opposition MP's in the Japanese parliament as well have demanded an emergency probe dealing with those comments.

The remarks belonged to Seisuke Okuno who heads the National Land Agency. After paying a visit to the infamous Yasukuni temple canonizing those who "fell for Japan", including the chief war criminals executed under a sentence passed by an international tribunal, he said publicly that Japan "was not the aggressor" in the last war, but had acted "to protect itself" and "liberate" Asian nations from "the white race that had turned Asia into a colony."

The comments by the government minister, repeating word for word the jingoistic claims of Japanese militarists before and during the war unleashed by Japan, are unprecedented in the post-war years.

None of the Japanese officials before him has permitted oneself to put history on its head and twist hard facts so blatantly. One can, of course, make allowance for Okuno's political past: He began his career during the war as a secret political police agent.

But it is not only his personal qualities, but also the entire atmosphere in the ruling quarters of Japan today that have made for a situation where Okuno has deemed it appropriate to declare publicly what extreme right politicians have long had on their minds.

The South Korean newspaper HANGOOK ILBO, for example, noted that "Okuno's remarks reflected the mentality of the Japanese leadership."

It is not the first time that in Tokyo they are attempting to whitewash the role of their country in unleashing the Second World War and to revise its results.

The Singaporean STRAITS TIMES said Okuno, 75, and some of his compatriots were ably interpreting facts of the last war as they saw fit since for many years they had been practicing a "selective loss of memory" and remembering only what they had wanted to remember.

It was not accidental, the paper continued, that many facts from the history of Japan, connected with its unleashing of aggression, such as the massacre at Nanking and the annexation of Korea had disappeared from Japanese textbooks.

No attempt to falsify the past could make Japan respected more, the STRAITS TIMES said. Those attempts, it added, were only increasing the conviction that Japan never regretted what it had perpetrated.

Okuno's remarks have caused a stir in the Japanese Government. Its head and the foreign minister are going to visit China where his comments have given rise to keen indignation.

But the top government officials' attempts to exonerate the remarks by the cabinet member with claims of "differences in the way history is understood and interpreted" in China and Japan can hardly ease the situation, let alone clarify it.

XINHUA News Agency pointed out that without a correct understanding of Japan's aggressive war there could be no correct approach to Chinese-Japanese relations.

This is true of China's relations with other countries as well.

Murakhovskiy Meets DPRK'S Kim Il-song

LD281020 Moscow TASS in English 0932 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Pyongyang April 28 TASS—Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), today received Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. He heads the Soviet delegation at the 22nd session of the Soviet-Korean Intergovernmental Consultative Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Questions.

The DPRK leader voiced support for the USSR's peace initiatives and the efforts by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to build a nuclear-free world. People in the DPRK wish the Soviet leadership success in carrying through the drive for restructuring, in the efforts for peace all over the world. In view of this, he expressed the hope that progress at Soviet-U.S. negotiations would exert a positive influence on the solution of the Korean question.

Vsevolod Murakhovskiy informed Kim Il-song about the way the party line for renovating all facets of life in Soviet society was implemented and the tasks of the 12th Five-Year Plan for the USSR's economic and social advancement fulfilled.

In discussing urgent matters of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK both sides expressed the desire to enrich it with new forms, among them such as launching joint business ventures. The interlocutors drew attention to the need to fulfill scrupulously mutual obligations so as to move ahead successfully in this important sphere of Soviet-Korean relations.

DPRK Vice President Makes Moscow Stopover

PM261319 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS "Official Report"]

[Text] A DPRK delegation headed by Yi Chong-ok, member of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee Politburo and the country's vice president, stopped over in Moscow on its way to Zambia.

Korean Army Personnel Interviewed on Jubilee

PM270959 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Kocherov interview with Korean People's Army servicemen studying at the Prof N.Ye. Zhukovskiy Military Air Engineering Academy: "April 25 Is Korean People's Army Day. Guarding Peaceful Labor"; date and place of interview not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction and last paragraph is correspondent's postscript]

[Excerpts] On the eve of the 56th anniversary of the Korean People's Army the editorial office asked Major General Kim Hak-san, Army, Navy, and Air attache at

the DPRK Embassy in the Soviet Union, to organize a conversation between a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent and Korean People's Army officers studying at the Prof N.Ye. Zhukovskiy Military Air Engineering Academy. The request was granted. We are publishing the conversation. [passage omitted]

[Kocherov] Military-patriotic education holds an important place in the DPRK. I noticed that the structure of the armed forces includes a formation called the Worker-Peasant Red Militia. What are its tasks?

Lieutenant Ok Gvan [name as published]: In effect the country's entire adult population belongs to the militia system: men under 50 and unmarried women. Militiamen are formed into detachments at their place of work; they are allocated firearms, and exercises are carried out several times a month. The militia is necessary because our country is small, and in the event of an attack by an aggressor the entire country will be a united front. We are guided in our training of the population and the defense of our motherland by the directives of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, who put forward the program of arming all the people. It was with this aim that the people's militia was set up. Participation in militia detachments is of great significance for military-patriotic education. Notably for young people. Boys and girls from the 8th to the 10th grades are members of Red Youth Guard detachments.

[Kocherov] Thus, the militia and young people's detachments are the army's immediate reserve in the event of war? At the same time it is well known that the Korean People's Army has been reduced by 100,000 men and 150,000 armed forces personnel have been withdrawn from the vicinity of the Demilitarized Zone. How can these facts be reconciled?

Major An Chi Khva [name as published]: Our people know what war is. We live in conditions of constant provocation from the Americans, whose bases are located on South Korean territory. Both we and the population of South Korea want to see our motherland as a single state. But peace is necessary for this. That is why our people welcome with particular enthusiasm the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist states geared to reducing tension in the Asia-Pacific region. Our party and the DPRK Government are also devoting their efforts to transforming the Korean peninsula into a nonnuclear zone and are fighting for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the practical elaboration of confidence-building measures, notably by means of a phased reduction in the sides' armed forces to 100,000 men. As you can see, our leadership is backing up its proposals with specific actions.

What is the United States' response? More and more provocations. This may be judged by the "Team Spirit" military maneuvers, which are still going on today, involving airborne formations from the United States and also from the U.S. troops stationed in Japan, the Philippines, and Hawaii. As is well known, nuclear and chemical strikes against the "enemy" are rehearsed during these maneuvers. And by "enemy" they mean the DPRK. Therefore the personnel of our People's Army and the entire country need to be vigilant, cohesive, and prepared to deal a resolute rebuff.

[Kocherov] I took this opportunity to convey to Maj Gen Kim Hak-san congratulations on Korean People's Army Day. Thanking me for the congratulations, he said that Korean People's Army personnel and the DPRK people are celebrating their holiday in close unity with the WPK and the DPRK Government. Our army, Maj Gen Kim Hak-san stressed, mounts a firm guard over the people's peaceful labor and is the guarantor of stability and peace on the Korean peninsula.

Briefs

USSR-Japan Seafood Contract

Several tonnes of live crabs were received aboard by (Hokko Fishin), a specialized refrigerator belonging to a Japanese company, in Yuzzhnosakhalinsk. Now the crabs recovered by ships from Sakhalinrybprom in the Tatar strait will be taken to Wakkanai. Recently an agreement on cooperation in the field of the recovery, processing, and marketing of seafood on the foreign market was signed by the USSR and Japan. The fishermen of Sakhalin have obtained a contract, according to which they must deliver seafood to Japanese consumers. This is the first contract of its kind. [Text] [*LD260026 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 25 Apr 88*]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Razumovskiy Delegation Continues Vietnam Tour

Visits Power Station

LD252057 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Exchanges of views continued in Hanoi today between a CPSU Central Committee delegation headed by Comrade Razumovskiy and a delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam headed by Nguyen Duc Tam, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party's Central Committee.

Comrade Razumovskiy spoke about the preparations by Soviet communists and all Soviet people for the 19th all-union party conference. He dealt in detail with questions of organizational and leadership activity of the CPSU Central Committee. The sides noted the particular importance of further broadening and strengthening ties between the parties and the constant exchanges of experiences in implementing the decisions of the 27th

CPSU Congress and the sixth congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam aiming at fundamental restructuring and a profound renewal of all spheres of life and activity.

Today the delegation visited the construction site of the hydroelectric power station in Hoabin, which is being built with the help of the Soviet Union, 70 km from Hanoi. [passage omitted] Its design capacity is about 2 million kilowatts—some three Dneproges' [Dnepr Hydroelectric Power Station].

Comrade Razumovskiy and other members of the delegation visited various sections of the construction site. They were interested in the volume and progress of the present work and the possibility of accelerating construction of the power station. Attention focused on the necessity to improve the quality of all works. The fact that some Soviet enterprises do not deliver equipment on time and thus upset the work schedule still reflects negatively on the progress of construction. [passage omitted]

The guests were warmly welcomed in a settlement for our specialists. It was built at the same time as the GES. Now about 2,000 Soviet people are living here. There is an eight-class school, a club, a canteen, and a shop. When their work is completed, Soviet builders will hand over this magnificent settlement to Vietnamese power workers.

Confers With Van Linh

LD261948 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report with correspondent L. Krichevskiy]

[Text] As has already been reported, Comrade Razumovskiy is in Vietnam. Let's watch a report from Hanoi:

[L. Krichevskiy] There is a place in Hanoi which is sacred to every Vietnamese—the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum on Ba Dinh Square. An endless flow of people come to pay tribute to the first president of free Vietnam. Today the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum was visited by the CPSU delegation. It laid a wreath to the great son of the Vietnamese people and a great friend of the Soviet Union. The creation of the party of the Vietnamese communists, the proclamation of Vietnam's independence, and the beginning of the building of socialism in that country are closely linked with the name Ho Chi Minh.

The Soviet guests then visited the Ho Chi Minh House Museum. It was here that the president lived and worked in the final years of his life. Everything has been preserved as it was. It was here that Ho Chi Minh received his fellow countrymen, held meetings of the Politburo, wrote articles and speeches, and studied Lenin's works. Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy signed the honored visitors book.

The Vladimir Ilyich Lenin memorial on Tilan square in the centre of Hanoi is the first memorial to the leader of the socialist revolution in southeast Asia. Comrade Razumovskiy laid flowers at the foot of the memorial.

Today the CPSU delegation was received by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee. A broad range of questions pertaining to the activities of the CPSU and the CPV was discussed. The strengthening of friendship and all-round cooperation with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, Nguyen Van Linh stressed, is the cornerstone of the CPV's foreign policy. He noted the need for the further development of inter-party links and of raising their effectiveness. The general secretary of the CPV Central Committee said that a constant study of the Soviet experience of revolutionary restructuring in all fields of public life—the implementation of democratization and glasnost and radical economic reform—is now acquiring principally important significance for the communists and all the people of Vietnam. The Vietnamese leader also highly appraised the Soviet Union's efforts directed toward strengthening peace and the security of peoples.

Further on Discussion

PM280923 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Unity of Views"]

[Text] Hanoi, 26 Apr—Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV], received today a CPSU delegation headed by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

A thorough, committed discussion took place on the basic areas involved in improving the forms and methods of party leadership of all aspects of socioeconomic and cultural building, the search for new approaches to resolving problems arising in this sphere, and the conduct of a cadre policy consonant with the requirements of restructuring and renewal. It was noted that there is full unity of views on the questions discussed.

The Vietnamese side spoke highly of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the CPV and the USSR and the SRV. Nguyen Van Linh stressed that the CPV considers this to be the keystone of foreign policy. He noted the need to further develop bilateral ties between the parties and enhance their effectiveness. It was stressed that the constant study of Soviet experience of carrying out revolutionary restructuring in all spheres of social life and implementing

democratization, glasnost, and radical economic reform is acquiring fundamental importance for the implementation of the course of renewal elaborated at the Sixth CPV Congress.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and mutual understanding. The following took part: Nguyen Duc Tam, member of the CPV Central Committee Politburo; other officials; and D.I. Kachin, USSR ambassador to the SRV.

Visits Ho Chi Minh City

LD272306 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee delegation headed by Comrade Razumovskiy, which is in Vietnam, left Hanoi for a trip around the country. The delegation arrived in Ho Chi Minh today. A meeting with the Ho Chi Minh party leadership was held in a warm fraternal atmosphere. The delegation visited the Saigon-1 Sewing Factory, which is filling our country's orders, and had meetings and discussions with the party and administrative-economic aktiv of the enterprise.

The guests acquainted themselves with the exposition at the Ho Chi Minh House Museum, which tells about the revolutionary path of the founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the first president of the republic.

Rogachev Comments on Camodian Talks With Sigur

AU271236 Paris AFP in English 1229 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Paris, April 27 (AFP)—The Soviet Union will do all it can to settle the Cambodian problem, but Moscow must take into account the "political realities" in Indochina, a senior Soviet official stressed here Wednesday.

In an interview with AFP, Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev said that the United States and the Soviet Union were "not able" to solve the Cambodian conflict because it is an issue that "we are not directly responsible for."

Mr. Rogachev was due to leave Paris Wednesday after two days of talks focused on Cambodia with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur. He said that the talks had not led to any major breakthroughs on the issue. "It is hard to imagine" that one meeting with Mr. Sigur "could significantly change the existing situation," he added.

During the talks, Mr. Sigur again asked the Soviet Union to put pressure on Vietnam to get a withdrawal of Hanoi's 140,000 troops from Cambodia, U.S. officials said.

The Soviet Union "will do all it can to encourage the search for a negotiated solution of the Cambodian problem, taking into account the existing political realities in Indochina," Mr. Rogachev said. He stressed that "the interests of all must be taken into consideration."

Asked about the possibility of the recent Geneva accord on Afghanistan serving as a model for a Cambodian settlement, Mr. Rogachev said: "There are elements of the Afghan arrangement that could be used for a Kampuchea solution," but added that the two conflicts were not "absolutely analogous."

The Afghan-model concept had been raised in mid-April by Mr. Rogachev, but Hanoi reacted sharply to this, saying there were basic differences between the two situations.

Asked about Vietnam's refusal to meet with Cambodian resistance leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Mr. Rogachev said that things should not be "hurried." He said Moscow supported the two-phase formula defined last year at Ho Chi Minh Ville by Vietnam and Indonesia. The first phase would bring together "all the Khmer parties," while Vietnam and other parties involved would take part in the second phase.

Mr. Rogachev added that the meeting begun in December between Prince Sihanouk and the leader of the Hanoi-backed Phnom Penh regime, Hun Sen, was part of the first phase. This dialogue "is very useful and should be continued," he stressed.

Cambodian Reconciliation, Development Viewed

PM271359 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by special correspondents B. Averchenko and M. Domogatskikh under the rubric "Cambodia Today": "First Step"]

[Excerpts] Phnom Penh—[Passage omitted] What the Cambodian people have done since January 1979, when the dreadful night of Pol Pot's rule came to an end, provides firm faith that this year, too, will bring good things in the republic's socioeconomic development, as well as in untying the tight knot of a problem which torments the country. The hope of these things was provided by the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the PRK Government last August.

No, no one has any illusions that everything will be accomplished this year, that the difficulties will be left behind, or that peace and tranquility will finally come to the Cambodian land. There is still quite a way to go. The obstacles and barriers on the way, the ruins and the severe wounds inflicted on the country and the people by the almost 4-year rule of Pol Pot's followers will still make themselves felt for a long time. But today the fresh

wind of change for the better is blowing in Cambodia's sails, and precisely the policy of national reconciliation is its most bracing and reassuring gust.

Meeting with understanding and ardent support inside the country, this policy has also provided food for thought for many people in the camp of the opponents of people's power entrenched on the border with neighboring Thailand. Although detachments of the most reactionary forces, chiefly Pol Pot formations, are still penetrating Cambodia and carrying out acts of sabotage and terrorism, it cannot fail to be seen that the cracks in their camp are growing wider with every passing day. People who were once deceived and fled the motherland are increasingly frequently giving themselves up and surrendering along with their weapons to the people's authorities. The government's humane act guaranteeing them civil rights, including the right to vote and be elected, is influencing many who do not want to be deprived of their motherland. [passage omitted]

In Phnom Penh we were told that life in the city is changing with every passing day. Duong Suan, a worker on the city people's revolutionary committee, said:

"Life in the capital is livelier than it was 3 or even 2 years ago. See how many bicycles, motorcycles, and vehicles are in the street. Today there are more than 3,000 private and cooperative enterprises in the city."

We visited a workshop which makes, on average, 800 saucepans a day. Simple utensils, but only 2 years ago they were imported from abroad. And so it continued at every step. There has been an increase in production of rubber and plastic footwear, factory-made and home-made textiles, various drinks, and goods in daily demand.

"This is a good sign," Duong Suan said. "But the city is also encountering problems which are difficult to resolve. Last year alone its population increased by 100,000 people. But Phnom Penh itself is hardly growing, and this is giving rise to a complex housing problem. The government is making efforts to encourage production and expand exports and is seeking means for economic development, including housing construction. Working people realize that, for life to be stabilized, the policy of national reconciliation must triumph."

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the republic's Council of State, also voiced this thought in conversation with us. He said that the past 9 years since the expulsion of Pol Pot's clique have not been easy for the young people's state. But, despite the difficulties, the country has achieved a great deal. The thoroughly devastated economy has been restored, the people's everyday life has become healthy and free of fear about the future, and culture, education, health care, and the consumer services sphere are developing... [passage omitted]

The KPRP Central Committee general secretary said that today Cambodia is not a detached observer but an active participant in the whole world process. Together with the fraternal countries, it participates in drawing up proposals for peace and security in the region and supports and pins great hopes on the process of new thinking which has begun in international relations, a vivid example of which was the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington and the similar upcoming meeting in Moscow. This fills people's hearts with hopes for a positive contribution to the strengthening of peace and security for all mankind.

The leaders of people's Cambodia are doing a great deal to resolve both regional and global international problems. And this is natural. For a monstrous historical injustice has been perpetrated on their country. This is the 10th year that the seat within the UN walls that rightfully belongs to them has been occupied not by representatives of the Cambodian people who overthrew the regime of genocide and took their destiny into their own hands, but by henchmen of the torturers and killers who annihilated almost half the country's population. But this policy of the new Cambodia's enemies will also fail in the end.

Today Cambodia's people are struggling and working in the name of victory for a just cause. Relying on assistance from fraternal and friendly countries, they are resolving complex economic, social, and cultural problems, rightly believing that the success of the policy of national reconciliation will, in the final analysis, depend on the achievements of internal development.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Tours ASEAN States

Meets Singapore Official

LD281108 Moscow TASS in English 0940 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Kuala Lumpur April 28 TASS—A group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Pavel Gilashvili, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is touring a number of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) countries. On the way to Indonesia the delegation made a stop-over in Singapore and had a talk with the members of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defence Commission of Singapore and the commission's Chairman Chandra Das.

During the meeting the parliamentarians of the two countries arrived at a conclusion that there were still a good deal of untapped opportunities for broadening and deepening of Soviet-Singapore (?relations). The commission's chairman emphasized the possibility to give greater scope to exchanges of various delegations and to contacts between representatives of business communities. He said Singapore's contacts with Soviet Union republics remained a little-developed sphere of bilateral relations.

Chandra Das told journalists that matters connected with the restructuring process taking place in the Soviet Union as well as international issues of mutual interests had been touched upon during the conversation.

Today the group of the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet left for Indonesia. After visiting Jakarta and Manila, the Soviet parliamentarians will again go to Singapore to continue the exchange of views with the parliament members.

Visits Philippines

LD280943 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Manila April 28 TASS—A group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Pavel Gilashvili, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, arrived here today.

Matters pertaining to international relations, the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, interparliamentary contacts and bilateral cooperation will be discussed here during the Soviet parliamentarians' meetings with representatives of the Philippine Congress and the government.

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Reportedly Airlifting Arms to Pakistan

LD281229 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] New York April 28 TASS—The United States is airlifting large batches of arms to Pakistan. These are intended for armed groups of Afghan opposition.

This has been reported by the ASSOCIATED PRESS (AP) news agency with reference to a U.S. official spokesman, who asked not to be named, in Islamabad. The spokesman said that the airlifting of arms was in full progress.

AP points out that the urgent supply of arms supplies is to make up for the loss as a result of the recent explosion of a large depot of ammunition and arms near the Pakistani capital. Those arms were to be supplied to Afghan anti-government groups based on the Pakistani territory.

Although U.S. and Pakistani officials refrained from detailed reports on what had been kept in the depot, estimates mentioned by AP have it that approximately 40,000 missiles, grenades and artillery shells exploded on April 10.

Congressmen Try To 'Bypass' Afghan Accords

LD271701 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—By TASS commentator Valeriy Vavilov:

The Geneva agreements on a political settlement regarding Afghanistan rule out any dubious interpretations. Clearly and unambigiously, they embody a balance of commitments and interests of all the sides.

The Soviet Union and the United States have pledged to be the guarantors of these agreements, undertaking "to invariably refrain from any form of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan".

And yet certain circles in the United States and some other countries are looking for ways to bypass the accords and hold back the political settlement process leading to the removal of one of the sharpest regional conflicts.

One cannot but be concerned by their statements contradicting the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements. And the source of concern is not reduced to statements alone.

U.S. congressmen have sponsored a House resolution headlined "Concerning Peace and Reconstruction in Afghanistan".

It would seem that it is a good thing to provide assistance with the mediation of the United Nations and other international organizations to rehabilitate Afghanistan's war-ravaged economy and make life easier for millions of refugees returning home from abroad.

But the resolution's contents match its name in far from everything. And the bill provides even for a direct violation of the Geneva agreements.

Paragraph 8 of Article 2 of the bilateral agreement, for example, makes it mandatory "to prevent...the training, equipping, financing and recruiting of mercenaries from whatever origin for the purpose of hostile activities against the other high contracting party".

In a violation of this clause, the U.S. resolution says, however, that "the United States assistance to the Afghan resistance should not be cut off until the president is confident that...United States military support for the Afghan resistance is no longer necessary".

In other words, the bill demands legalizing continued military aid to the armed groups of the Afghan opposition fighting to topple the lawful government in Kabul.

Besides, the resolution raises once again the issue of forming an "acceptable government".

But the agreement on the interrelationships, signed also by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, includes "the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations".

The composition of an Afghan coalition government is a domestic matter for the Afghan people and they will themselves decide what kind of government they need.

With a view to expediting this process of national reconciliation and the cessation of the fratricidal conflict, the leadership of Afghanistan has, for an umpteenth time, declared its readiness to open dialogue with all the opposition forces, including those continuing to fight the present Kabul authorities with arms in hands, and share the power and responsibility with them.

It is only irresponsible people that can ignore, reject or break the norms and principles of the settlement. For it is perfectly obvious that any departure from the formalized understandings can harm the cause of the Afghanistan settlement and put a stigma of disgrace on the moral prestige of the statesman urging violations of commitments.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it intends to act in full accordance with the Geneva agreements and fulfil them precisely and unfailingly.

Prospects for Peace in Afghanistan Analyzed
PM271129 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent V. Okulov: "The Day After Spring"]

[Text] Kabul, April—The Afghan solar hegira calendar conventionally allocates to spring one-fourth of the year—from the end of our March to the end of June. But spring is brief here. It ended to the sound of welcome rain, and the scorching summer heat is already closing in.

As far as Afghans are concerned, the current spring is particularly significant because of two events—the Geneva signing of the agreements on a settlement of the Afghan situation has just been given a joyous reception here, and the 10th anniversary of the April revolution is to be celebrated on 7 Sowr (27 April) this leap year.

The success of the Geneva diplomatic process has created an international law basis for normalizing the Afghan situation. Their practical implementation will begin on 15 May, the day the accords enter into effect. It has become obvious recently that a military solution of the Afghan problem is futile. This conclusion has been arrived at not only by our Afghan friends, setting an example of new political thinking, but also by the other sides. Otherwise, there would have been no Geneva. And although, of course, it is too early to say that the problem of an Afghan settlement no longer exists, a qualitatively new stage has arrived in the development of the Afghan situation, in which the accent has shifted in the direction of a settlement inside the country.

The fundamentally new element in the situation is the fact that Geneva makes outside interference in Afghanistan's affairs, at least from Pakistani territory, impossible. And this, accordingly, eliminates the reasons for the presence in Afghanistan of the Soviet forces, which have been helping to repulse this interference at the Afghan Government's request. To the joy of the Soviet people, of whose lives and destiny Afghanistan has become a part, our soldier sons are coming home.

The past decade has been a difficult one for the Afghans, and the national democratic revolution in a backward, oriental country has not gone smoothly. This is not because of any lack of desire for change on the Afghan people's part. The choice of the path of development was made in a situation of struggle within society, and the state's independence, threatened by an undeclared war, had to be defended. But the question is: How ready was Afghan society for the radical socioeconomic transformations that were announced? Afghan economists and sociologists have yet to examine this. There is no doubt, however, that the underdeveloped social structure, the powerfully expressed tribal relationships, the illiteracy of the vast majority of the populace, who are therefore outside politics, and historical, religious, geographical, and national features dictated that the stage of national democratic revolution would be a lengthy one. The subjective factor also played a part, especially in the period of Amin's rule, as did overeagerness, leftist exaggeration, and so forth.

This was stated with total frankness at the PDPA all-party conference. Advances were made on the basis of a dispassionate, sober analysis. And they were not made predominantly, in fact, in intraparty life: Despite the excessive burden of the war, it was possible to stabilize the economy, make appreciable progress in eliminating illiteracy and training cadres, step up social protection for the working people, and make the burden of the grim war period as light as possible for them.

But the main thing is that national dialogue is being organized on the PDPA's initiative. By correctly revealing the character of the national democratic revolution, the PDPA is seeking to involve all Afghan forces in it and is contributing to the creation of the political infrastructure of society on the basis of a multiparty setup, in accordance with the mixed nature of the economy. The policy of national reconciliation, formulated and implemented by the PDPA, demanded that the party cooperate with the widest possible spectrum of political forces, including armed opponents of the regime. New parties—the peasant justice party, the people's Islamic party—are entering the political arena. The principles of national dialogue are enshrined in the country's new constitution.

This is a very important aspect of the revolutionary decade. State structures are being formed on the basis of the Constitution. The Constitution grants rights and opportunities to all the country's citizens, including the opposition, to participate in the construction of a peace-loving, independent, and nonaligned Afghanistan.

The PDPA is operating aong the lines of the traditional features of an Islamic society. New, flexible principles for the regulation of land and water relationships have been established on its initiative, and the private sector of the economy is being actively supported. And although genuine intraparty unity has not been achieved, the nearly 200,000-strong PDPA is undoubtedly the best organized force in Afghan society. In contrast to the opposition forces, it has the experience of a decade's management of the country at a crucial stage in its history—experience gained at a considerable price, and, therefore, unique.

In the wake of Geneva, the national reconciliation process has been given new momentum. The advances made in the country since the course of compromise and dialogue was announced are common knowledge. They have occurred in all spheres—in the development of elements of coalition rule centrally and locally, in the desire of many opposition detachments to halt armed resistance and cooperate with the state authorities, in the return of refugees. But although appreciable in quantity, these advances have not yet led to a qualitative leap forward in the peacemaking process: There is not yet tranquility in Afghanistan. And whereas Geneva has given international law guarantees of an end to the undeclared war, the civil war has not received similar guarantees. They can only be provided by a mutual desiure for compromise on the part of the opposing sides. The point is that the government side is displaying flexibility and a desire to conduct dialogue, but the main forces of the Peshawar armed opposition are still proclaiming their intention not to lay down their arms.

But the present situation is determined above all by a distinct desire on the part of the vast majority of Afghans to obtain tranquility and security at last. Whatever they say about the traditional weakness here of the very idea of statehood, which is incapable of bringing the numerous tribes and clans together under the roof of a firm central power, the idea of peace rather than fratricide, encapsulated in the national reconciliation policy, is increasingly demonstrating its vitality.

During the years of the revolution, the people have come to see more clearly who is who. And, in deciding for themselves the country's future, what they will present above all is the most powerful, decisive argument—a thirst for peace, an ability to opt not for the traditions of the blood feud, but the primordial Afghan desire for fraternity and national unity.

The organizer of the reconciliation process—the PDPA—is quite different from what it was during the initial euphoria at the acquisition of power. It is moving consistently toward the creation of a system of coalition rule, toward the formation of a government to satisfy everyone. The elections to the National Council, which has the job of forming a constitutional government, gave the opposition the chance to have a real influence on the distribution of forces in the Afghan leadership. Essentially, it did not take advantage of the opportunity. Nevertheless, President Najibullah has told the opposing side again and again of his wish to cooperate, his willingness to accept opposition candidates for deputies' seats in both chambers of parliament.

The process of preparing and signing the Geneva accords dramatically increased centrifugal aspirations in the Afghan opposition camp. And they grew not only into the discord of a power struggle within the "Alliance of Seven," but into a dissociation by the more reasonable, moderate elements from the extremists at the top. Without doubt, the implementation of the Geneva accords will intensify these trends. The withdrawal of Soviet forces deprives not only theorists and organizers outside the country, but also the practitioners of armed opposition operating on the territory of Afghanistan of arguments in favor of continuing the war.

A new aspect of the post-Geneva situation is the Peshawar bosses' intention to give the armed opposition the appearance of a civil war by transferring to some place in Afghanistan a government that has been hastily assembled abroad. This certainly is a threat to the prospects of the peacemaking process.

The mass return of refugees is an important factor in the development of events brought into play by Geneva. It is obvious that the vast majority of emigres will return not to take up the arms which have accumulated in abundance on Afghan soil—they will be embarking on peaceful labor. And this in itself could help stabilize the situation in the country.

The arrangement of a dialogue between the Kabul authorities and the opposition in order to form a coalition government could be aided by the effort of Diego Cordovez, who is prepared to exchange the mandate of personal representative of the UN secretary general for a private mission as a mediator with 6 years' experience in trying to settle the Afghan problem.

Geneva has introduced into the Afghan internal situation many new facts which need more than cursory consideration and examination. They will reveal themselves further when, some time from now, beyond the threshold of spring, the implementation of the signed accords begins. It will demand of all the sides involved in the peacemaking process strict and honest observance of the declared principles, whose essential point is to act in favor of peacemaking in Afghanistan.

Road Home Beckons for Soldiers in Afghanistan

PM281201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondent Colonel P. Studenikin: "The Road Home. Soviet Forces Are Preparing To Return from Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul-Moscow—I can now see, in the minutest detail, the once beautiful concrete road from Kushka to Qandahar that is now badly damaged, large sections looking like a washboard, peppered with craters caused by exploding mines. Soon, very soon now, our armored columns will be headed for Kushka for the last time.

I traveled this road late last summer. It took us 5 days to reach Qandahar. And whenever we arrived anywhere—among Afghans and among our troops—conversations broke out about the withdrawal of Soviet troops.... The difficult talks were continuing in Geneva. The conditions for the return of our soldiers were only just taking shape. And it all still lay in the future....

I was awakened by the sound of a siren that seemed to go on and on: The duty officer's vehicle was moving slowly along the line of trucks, arranged in an open V formation, its siren switched on—this is the version of reveille practiced by our military drivers in Afghanistan. The time was 0430 hours.

At the briefing the evening before, Lieutenant Colonel V. Shuban had given our column the go-ahead—it would go first early in the morning, when traffic was only just beginning to build up on the highway. He did warn, though, that aerial reconnaissance had located 150 freshly dug trenches in the vicinity of Golomekh [name as published]—an obvious sign that an ambush was being prepared. But no one paid any attention to this—the day before we had covered some 250 kilometers, it had been quiet, no shooting, but I had been frightfully tired: My sun-scorched face was on fire, my hands and arms ached, I wanted one thing—to be able to wash off the disgusting dust, drink some cold water, and take refuge in a tent from the damned "Afghan" wind and its stinging particles of hot sand.

The control point at which the columns wait when traffic stops on the road and our men put their equipment in order and, naturally, rest after a difficult, dangerous passage, was a hectare of churned-up, dusty land surrounded by barbed wire. But there was not even a wash-basin, a simple bench.... By evening the "Afghan" had strengthened—vehicles and people were silhouettes amid the white dust, like a real snowstorm.

Then we headed for Qandahar itself—heat, dust, wind, only the shells of burned-out tankers to remind us that there was a war on. The empty, monotonous highway demanded superhuman concentration on the part of the drivers—any rag or stick on the road might turn out to be a mine. The frequent craters in the concrete surface bore witness to this.

As we went through villages or small towns, I tried to judge from the people's behavior what changes had taken place in the country. A striking feature was the fact that less land lay neglected—it was apparent that refugees had returned. Whenever the column stopped in a population center small boys would surround our troops, at first smiling affably, then disappointed because there were no deals to be struck. But there were many indications of how tired the people were of war....

In Adraskan, where I had been before, I did not meet anyone I knew: There were other people working in party bodies and with the state security service (Khad). I did not manage to find out anything about engineer Abdugarim, with whom I had become acquainted when he had just gone over to the side of the revolution with 500 other people. Even the shop with the sign "Ibrahim—the world's most honest merchant" at the entrance had vanished without trace.

There were new people everywhere and the conversations with them were quite different. One discerned in the questions and rejoinders a deep anxiety, experienced by many Afghan comrades, party members and military people, that is, those who were actively fighting against counterrevolution: What would become of them when we go? Some of them were blunt: "Is it true that an accord has been reached whereby the Soviet Union agrees to take 500,000 Afghan refugees?" I don't know, I replied, I have heard nothing about that.

Yes, I saw it all. I saw burned-down schools and mosques, blown-up bridges, ruined villages, and the deserted ruins of cities—the antigovernment groupings had never been short of missiles. I saw orphaned children and mothers who had lost their children....

But I saw other things too: New schools and hospitals built with the fraternal participation of Soviet people, I saw columns of Soviet vehicles delivering consignments of free aid from our people to the Afghan people, and I saw beautiful young women who had discarded the yashmak. But I did not rule out the possibility of mines exploding or skirmishes breaking out with the occasional gang on the road we would be taking home. It is well known, for example, that counterrevolutionary detachments have accumulated an arsenal of antitank missiles (more than 300, according to some information), which, apparently, have not been used against us yet. The leaders of the "Alliance of Seven"—the opposition parties which have plans to monopolize power in the country by setting up a "transitional government"—are now calling for the uncompromising continuation of the undeclared war against their own people—until "final victory" is achieved.

The nearer we got to Qandahar, the more obvious the war became. In one place where the road hugged the mountains, describing a large loop (a very convenient place for an ambush), we saw traces of a fierce battle a week before, and, as we came out of the trap, at the highest point, we saw five red stars hewn in rock, rising above the road. The vehicles passed by them dead slow with sirens blaring. We remembered and will always remember those who gave their lives carrying out their international duty.

I remember the armored transporter "crew of three Sergeys": driver Sergey Konovalov and senior radiotelephone operator Sergey Ogleznev from the Volga and machinegunner Sergey Konovalov from the Kuban, if my memory serves me right. Gray eyes, peeling noses, foreheads burned by the scorching Afghan sun, large, hard peasant hands—such reliable Russian lads.

All three were versatile agricultural machine operators and had driven tractors and combines before Afghanistan. Serezha Ogleznev's family lived in the village of Volgogradka: His father, Konstantin Andreyevich, was a machine operator, his elder brother, Stanislav, was an agronomist, and his mother, Yevdokiya Nikolayevna, was a watchperson. He had been in his third year at agricultural college when he was drafted. Serezha had lost his mother at the age of five and had been brought up by his father, Ivan Vladimirovich—in kolkhoz workshops, in a tractor cabin....

Now they were swallowing the acrid Afghan dust. Qandahar, Kabul, Herat....—they had escorted columns practically all over Afghanistan. They had delivered food to mountain villages, when necessary they had attacked under fire, risking their lives, to save their comrades.... They had seen and experienced a great deal there, the main thing being the intense pain they felt at the sight of their contemporaries dying on those hard roads.

They had been ambushed themselves. Once they had hit a mine ("It's okay, it's the rear wheel...."). Any of them might have been in the shoes of those who were not so lucky—who had breathed their last on that road beneath the hot sun. The lads made no secret of it: They would be here as long as they were needed, of course, but.... if only they could exchange their large-caliber machineguns for the wheel of a combine—how they would work then!

...I close my eyes and I can see the road, mutilated by explosions and caterpillar tracks. And I want to tell all those who will soon be traveling that road home: "Guys, be careful! We are waiting for you. Not just mothers and sweethearts, nearest and dearest—the country is waiting impatiently for your return!"

There are thousands of letters about this in the editorial office.

Here is one. It is from Ramazan Andrukhayev, a construction worker in Maykop whose uncle—a Hero of the Soviet Union—perished in 1941. He was writing before the documents had been signed in Geneva.

"...I want to express my opinion," he wrote, "the opinion of someone who is not very expert in these matters. I am for Afghanistan and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's 8 February 1988 statement. I must say that the statement inspired me and gave me hope of a very early settlement of this matter and hope that our children will soon be returning. Many thanks for the statement! I think we must all revise our views and, as the party teaches, the time has come to solve state and international affairs by political means.

"...I have known mothers who are unable to sleep at night because their sons are serving in Afghanistan. I have seen young guys return from Afghanistan as invalids. It is very hard for them....

"That is why I am for the earliest withdrawal of Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan, in favor of their receiving awards for labor valor and exploits at home.

"I am sure the withdrawal of Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan will prompt mounting interest in our state and respect for our party and government among the peoples of the world, and our people will be very grateful to our government and will struggle even more vigorously for restructuring in the country...."

...It tooks us 5 days to get from Kushka to Qandahar (around 750 kilometers). And it was a nuisance having to make yet another overnight stop in the desert 20 kilometers from the city. We learned later that battles were taking place in Qandahar and its environs and it would have been risky for the column to pass through the city.

During the night some helicopters passed high above and from somewhere in the darkness came the sound of distant explosions....

I cannot say exactly where all the people I was with in Afghanistan last summer are now. I know one thing: They are satisfied with the settlement of the Afghan problems. The road home awaits our soldiers....

Talyzin Attends Afghan Holiday Reception
LD280401 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2050 GMT 27 Apr 88

[From the "Novosti" Newscast]

[Text] To mark the national holiday, the 10th anniversary of the April national democratic revolution in Afghanistan, Safi', the ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, held a reception on 27 April. The reception was attended by Comrade Talyzin, the heads of a number of ministries and departments, and other officials.

Soviet-Indian Trade Commission Meets in Delhi

Kamentsev Leads Delegation

PM271539 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] The first plenary session of the latest working meeting between the cochairmen of the Soviet-Indian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has taken place in Delhi. The Soviet delegation at this meeting is headed by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Indian delegation by V.P. Shiv Shanker, minister of planning.

The progress of the fulfillment of accords reached previously on increasing the volume of trade between the two countries by a factor of 2.5 in the next 5-7 years was examined. Questions concerning the expansion of the product list of goods and the increase in the proportion of machines and equipment in reciprocal commodity turnover were also discussed.

'Mutual Grievances' Aired

LD282218 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A working meeting of the intergovernmental Soviet-Indian Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation is under way in Delhi.

[B. Levchenko, identified by caption] The delegations of the two countries are headed by the co-chairmen of the commissions: Comrade Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Shiv Shanker, Indian planning minister. Holding the working meeting on such a high level is evidence of the special importance given by the governments of the two countries to the fulfillment of the programs of economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

As Shiv Shanker, Indian planning minister, noted when addressing the session, the prospects for such cooperation are, from the Indian view, unlimited.

The participants in the meeting discussed the results of the work accomplished since the 11th session in June 1987 and spoke frankly about their observations and mutual grievances. The Indian side has in particular proposed implementing in a more energetic way plans for new forms of cooperation, such as setting up joint enterprises, including the area of everyday services to the population.

A meeting took place between Comrade Kamentsev and Narain Dutt Tiwari, Indian finance minister. The meeting noted with satisfaction that noticeable success has been achieved in Soviet-Indian trade over the last year thanks to the widening of the nomenclature of goods and mainly thanks to modern machinery and equipment.

'New Chapter' in Syrian-PLO Ties Noted

PM280817 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Press Service" report: "Talks In Damascus"]

[Text] According to reports from Damascus, talks are underway there between Syrian leaders and the PLO leadership. SANA points out that discussion is focusing on the present situation in the Near East, the Palestinian problem, and the situation in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories, where the Palestinian uprising has been going on for five months now.

The world's mass media particularly stress that Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, has come to the Syrian capital for the first time in 5 years to take part in the talks. In the opinion of political observers, this fact testifies to an incipient process of overcoming existing Syrian-Palestinian differences and restoring unity among the forces opposing Israeli aggression.

A meeting has taken place between Syrian President H. al-Asad and Y. 'Arafat and also a number of other Palestinian leaders. The PLO Executive Committee chairman visited the grave of the well-known Palestinian Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], who was recently villainously murdered by Israeli special service agents in Tunis.

In an interview with Reuter, N. Hawatimah, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, stated that Syria and the PLO have achieved broad consensus on the main questions under discussion. Citing official Palestinian spokesmen, Reuter calls the Syrian-Palestinian dialogue "the start of a new chapter in Syrian-PLO relations."

PRAVDA Carries Al-Asad Message of Thanks

PM271549 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 88 Second Edition p1

[Syrian President al-Asad reply to CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium greetings]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

I send you sincere thanks for your message of congratulations on the National Day of the Syrian Arab Republic.

The Syrian people fought a long struggle for their independence and, since achieving it, have focused their efforts on ensuring socioeconomic progress and building socialism. Continuing to struggle against Israeli aggression and imperialism's plans and for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and the establishment of a just

peace, they highly value the support given by the Soviet Union. We in Syria are fully determined to continue to further strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation enshrined in the Syrian-Soviet treaty.

I ask you to accept, dear comrades, sincere wishes for health and happiness and wishes for new successes and prosperity for the friendly Soviet people.

Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Sub-Saharan Africa

South African CP Delegation Holds Moscow Talks

Arrives 26 Apr

PM281047 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Arrival"]

[Text] A delegation of the South African Communist Party headed by Joe Slovo, its general secretary, arrived in Moscow on 26 April at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Received by Ligachev, Dobrynin

PM281454 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With South African Communists"

[Text] A meeting took place at the CPSU Central Committee on 27 April between Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and a delegation of the South African Communist Party [SACP] headed by J. Slovo, its general secretary.

J. Slovo spoke of the selfless struggle of the SACP, the oldest Marxist-Leninist party on the African Continent, which, after its banning by the racist South African authorities in 1950, was forced to operate deep underground and was subjected to the harshest terror and repressions. As an active participant in the combat alliance of national liberation forces headed by the African National Congress [ANC], the Communist Party, J. Slovo stressed, retains its autonomous role and acts as the political vanguard of the country's working class and the voice of its socialist aspirations.

During the conversation it was noted that as a result of strong pressure from the liberation movement, the apartheid regime in South Africa is in the grip of a profound and irreversible crisis. In these conditions the Pretoria rulers should recognize the futility of trying to save apartheid and seek a political solution to the problem, accepting the just demand of the ANC and other patriotic forces for South Africa to become a united, democratic, nonracist state. This decision, the SACP and the CPSU are convinced, would meet the interests of all the inhabitants of South Africa—black and white—and promote the establishment of peace in the country and region and the normalization of the international situation as a whole.

The facts indicate, however, that the South African leaders refuse to heed the voice of reason and have embarked on a path of war against their own people and the neighboring independent states. This policy of theirs meets with support from U.S. imperialist circles and other Western states. In the situation that is emerging, J. Slovo stated, antiracist forces are fully resolved to step up the liberation struggle in all its forms.

The SACP general secretary expressed heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet people for their multifaceted help and support for South African patriots. It was stated on the Soviet side that our solidarity with South Africa's freedom fighters remains unchanged.

The participants in the meeting came out in favor of internationalizing the antiapartheid movement as much as possible and creating throughout the world an atmosphere of universal condemnation and rejection of that criminal system. They called for the stepping up of the international campaign to save the "Sharpeville Six" and free Nelson Mandela and all the other political prisoners in South Africa.

The CPSU representatives spoke of the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the achievements, problems, and difficulties of that profoundly revolutionary process, aimed at a qualitative renewal of all aspects of Soviet society's life. The 19th all-union party conference will be a major milestone, and will devote attention to problems of restructuring the economy, the political system, and the social and spiritual sphere on the basis of full utilization of socialism's creative potential.

The SACP delegation noted the beneficial influence of the social transformations in the Soviet Union on the world situation and expressed full support for the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet state to prevent nuclear catastrophe, create a comprehensive system of international security, and promote the just political settlement of regional conflicts. On behalf of South Africa's communists, J. Slovo welcomed the signing of the Geneva accords on a settlement of the Afghanistan situation.

The CPSU and SACP representatives assessed highly the significance of the meeting of representatives of parties and movements in Moscow in November 1987.

Solidarity was expressed with the people of Namibia, who are fighting for independence under the leadership of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]

and with Angola and the other "frontline" countries of Africa, which are defending their sovereignty in the face of aggressive actions by South Africa.

The participants in the meeting reaffirmed the mutual desire to further strengthen fraternal ties between the CPSU and the SACP.

Taking part in the talk, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding, was A.Yu. Urnov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

Tanzanian Army Group Meets Yazov, Lizichev

PM271421 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit Concluded"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers of the Tanzanian People's Defense Forces headed by Major General A. Natepe, member of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania National Executive Committee Politburo and chief political commissar of the country's People's Defense Forces, visited the Soviet Union 21 through 26 April at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. The delegation included Colonel F. Svai [name as published], member of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania National Executive Committee.

The guests had thorough talks at directorates of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate on problems of party political work in the Army and the Navy.

At the Carpathian Military District Political Directorate, at Lvov Higher Military-Political School, and in a military unit, the delegation members familiarized themselves with the organization of educational work with various categories of servicemen.

The delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy and the M.V. Frunze Military Academy.

The Tanzanian guests visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum, laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall, and familiarized themselves with historical and revolutionary monuments in Moscow and Lvov.

Talks were held with Army General A.D. Lizichev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Participating in them were Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

During the talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere, both sides voiced confidence that the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the USSR Armed Forces and the Tanzanian People's Defense Forces and their political organs will develop and strengthen.

On 25 April, Major General A. Natepe was received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense. Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, participated in the talks. Brigadier R.M. Hellela, defense attache at the Tanzanian Embassy in the USSR, was present.

Copyright Agreement Signed With Madagascar

PM261613 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Agreement Signed"]

[Text] Antananarivo, 20 Apr—An agreement on mutual copyright protection between the USSR and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar was signed in Antananarivo Tuesday [19 April]. The signatories were V.F. Maslennikov, deputy chairman of the All-Union Copyright Agency Board, and Anri Ramiliarison [name as published], secretary general of the Malagasy Ministry of Culture and Revolutionary Art.

East Europe

PPR Strikes Used for Western 'Propaganda'

LD271640 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 27 Apr (TASS)—Forces in the West hostile to Poland have raised a propagandistic hullabaloo, in the same way as in the past, about the strike in a number of workshops of a metallurgical combine near Krakow, in Nowa Huta. [passage omitted]

Representatives of various underground groups are trying to stir up and use incidents for obvious propaganda provocative aims. Thus, former "Solidarity" activist J. Rulewski tried to join the strike committee but workers themselves rejected his suggestion.

Further Cooperation on Polish Border Zone

AU271619 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 23 Apr 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Soviet-Polish Conference on Restructuring"]

[Text] A Soviet-Polish scientific-practical conference, held recently in the rayon center of Mostiska, was dedicated to the 118th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin. It was jointly organized by Lvov Obkom and the Przemysl, Rzeszow, and Krosno Voivodship PZPR

Committees. The conference participants discussed restructuring in the USSR and the realization of the second stage of reform in socialist Poland.

"On the eve of V.I. Lenin's jubilee, we gathered here to pay the traditional tribute of respect to the leader of the world's proletariat and to exchange our party organizations' concrete work experiences," S. Nowicki, Przemysl Voivodship PZPR committee secretary, told a RATAU correspondent. "The Soviet-Polish Declaration, signed in Moscow a year ago by W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman, and M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, also opened new prospects for fruitful cooperation between borderlands in the PPR and the USSR. We are changing from introductory meetings and trips both ways to the joint settlement of many problems in the economy, in the social and the cultural spheres."

The existing good-neighborly relations, the expanded network of mutually beneficial partner-like contacts among labor collectives and public organizations have turned Lvov Oblast and the adjacent voivodships in the PPR into a special area in which new forms of economic and cultural cooperation are being engendered and tested. The ways to deepen and improve cooperation among partners under the conditions of renewing political, economic, and other structures in the USSR and the PPR were tackled by M.G. Vasyliv, Lvov Obkom secretary; Z. Cyprys, Rzeszow Voivodship PZPR committee secretary; A.N. Leventsev, Mostisskiy Raykom first secretary; and J. Luczynski, Krosno Voivodship PZPR committee secretary.

The conference participants laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin in the city of Mostiska.

Polish Trade Union Visit to USSR Reviewed

PM261633 Moscow TRUD in Russian
23 Apr 88 p 3

[V. Piskunov report under the rubric "International Trade Union Movement": "Cooperation Horizons"]

[Text] Polish Trade Union festivals, timed to coincide with the 1st anniversary of the signing of the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture, were held 18-23 April in Brest, Vilnius, Kaliningrad, Leningrad, Lutsk, Lvov, Minsk, and Moscow.

They were attended by more than 300 Polish trade unionists who arrived in the USSR from 11 sister voivodships to represent various components of the Polish trade union movement, above all enterprise trade union organizations. A delegation of the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] took part in the events.

The festival participants had talks at the Belorussian and Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committees, party obkoms, and trade union councils where they were briefed on progress in the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 18th Trade Union Congress and preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The festivals were attended by 20 delegations of Polish enterprise labor collectives which have established direct links with Soviet partners.

On 22 April AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev received the OPZZ delegation headed by A. Miodowicz, chairman of the OPZZ.

The sides assessed positively the dynamic character of Soviet-Polish trade union cooperation which is contributing to the strengthening of fraternal friendship between the peoples of the USSR and Poland. It was noted that the trade union festivals which are held in both countries play an important role in this sphere.

Special attention was focused at the meeting on trade union participation in the implementation of the accords reached in the course of the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, on deepening economic integration between the USSR and Poland and the extensive use of new progressive forms of mutual relations. Stress was laid on the importance of intensified efforts to implement the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture.

There was also an exchange of views and experience concerning the restructuring of trade union activity in conditions of acclerated socioeconomic development and the socialist renewal of all aspects of social life in the USSR and Poland.

The AUCCTU and OPZZ reaffirmed their desire to contribute in every way to improving the activity of the WFTU and strengthening its prestige and influence in the world trade union movement.

On the same day the OPZZ delegation and senior AUCCTU officials gave a news conference.

It was opened by AUCCTU Secretary V.N. Makeyev, who emphasized that the Polish trade union festivals in the USSR were characterized by the specificity, depth, and scale of the problems raised.

I want to note especially, R. Sosnowski, OPZZ deputy chairman said, that during our frank discussions we spoke less about successes and more about what is hampering our life and work and about what we have so far failed to achieve.

Polish trade unions are trying to help the republic's labor collectives as much as possible in assimilating the principles of self-financing and self-management which constitute the essense of the economic reform, A. Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, said. Here I would like to dwell on a question on which relatively little has been done, despite the fact that it is extremely important for the Polish economy. It is the development of direct links between Polish and Soviet enterprises. Today, during talks with Comrade Shalayev, we once again discussed this problem.

The cooperation between our enterprises must be of a specific nature. To this end enterprises must themselves choose their business partners. We are planning to organize meetings between the enterprise trade union committee chairmen of allied sectors in Poland and the USSR.

Currently Poland is getting ready for the visit of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, A. Miodowicz said in conclusion. We are confident that his visit will give a new impetus to the development of Soviet-Polish relations.

On 22 April the OPZZ delegation headed by A. Miodowicz left for home. S.A. Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman, and staff of the Polish Embassy in the USSR saw the delegation off.

Protocol With Hungary Called 'Unparalleled'

LD262200 Budapest MTI in English 1958 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 27—Oleg Avramenko, deputy head of the consular section of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs called unparalleled the Hungarian-Soviet consular protocol which was signed on April 20. The Soviet diplomat referred to the fact that it has became possible for the citizens of the two countries to cross the border without having it recorded in their passports. On urgent trips the document certified by Interior Ministry organizations is no longer needed since a single document from the council is sufficient. The scope of invitations through embassy channels are also extended—Hungarian students studying in the Soviet Union or those working at Tengiz are permitted to invite their Hungarian relatives and friends. It is a new feature that Hungarian citizens whose spouse is a Soviet citizen are allowed to travel with his/her spouse to closed regions in the Soviet Union with less formality. For Soviet citizens who are permanent residents in Hungary it is sufficient to see the consular office to obtain approval for visiting their homeland.

Further simplifications such as when the passport in itself is sufficient for a trip to Hungary is not on the agenda for the time being. In the Soviet Union appropriate infrastructure is needed and the retained limitations—submitting a letter of invitation—is exclusively related to economic considerations.

Vorotnikov Continues SFRY Official Visit

Further on Arrival Ceremony

PM271057 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Friendly Visit"]

[Text] On the same day [24 April] V.I. Vorotnikov arrived in Belgrade.

He was greeted at the airport by D. Jevtic, president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Executive Council; Z. Sokolovic, secretary of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium, and other officials.

The welcoming party included USSR Ambassador to Yugoslavia V.F. Maltsev.

On his arrival V.I. Vorotnikov made a statement for representatives of the Yugoslav press, radio, and television, saying that the peoples of the USSR and Yugoslavia are linked by sincere fraternal friendship, similar historical destinies, the struggle for the lofty ideals of freedom and social justice, and common languages and cultures. Revolutionary links and brotherhood-in-arms in the struggle against fascism in the last war occupy a special place in our peoples' history. Peace is particularly dear to the peoples of two countries who bore the brunt of the war to an enormous degree, and they therefore attach great importance to problems of strengthening international peace and security and halting the arms race and to the practical process of nuclear disarmament which has begun.

Tours Belgrade Institute

PM280939 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Institute Visit"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr—V.I. Vorotnikov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman, who is in the SFRY on an official friendly visit, today visited the capital's Mihajlo Pupin Institute. This establishment, set up soon after the country's liberation, has become Yugoslavia's largest science and production center in the sphere of high technology, automation, electronics, and telecommunications.

A conversation was held with institute leaders on questions relating to areas of the collective's scientific and practical activity and its cooperation with related Soviet establishments and enterprises. The Yugoslav side pointed out with great satisfaction that for more than 20 years this cooperation has been embodied in many concrete achievements, including the joint creation of the GVS-100 computer system, now in operation in the

USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, and the elaboration by common efforts of a specialized computer processor used by the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet. The two countries' specialists are now working on the creation of experimental robot prototypes with elements of artificial intelligence. Within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 the Belgrade institute's collective is involved in the program for constructing the Il-114 airliner, having undertaken to create a mockup-testing system.

Then V.I. Vorotnikov looked around certain production areas.

Demichev Receives Bulgarian Main Prosecutor

PM281011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Friendly Conversations"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev [CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium first deputy chairman] received Bulgarian Main State Prosecutor Vasil Mruchkov on 26 April. The need was pointed out to further deepen multifaceted ties between Soviet and Bulgarian organs of justice in the interests of developing democracy and restructuring the two countries' socioeconomic life.

A.M. Rekunov, USSR prosecutor general, took part in the friendly conversation.

Bratislava Interviews Shishlin on Conference

AU271024 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 88 p 4

[Interview with Nikolay Shishlin, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, by V. Jancura, Bratislava PRAVDA Moscow correspondent: "Further Along the Road of Democratization;" date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The original topic of my interview with Nikolay Shishlin, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, was to take stock of the 3 years that have elapsed since the April plenum. But the logic of questions quickly took us to the approaching number one domestic political event in the USSR—the 19th all-union party conference.

[Jancura] Soviet journalists are almost unanimous in their admission that 3 years ago no one was a prophet in his own country. In other words: The subsequent developments took them by surprise. Was it really impossible to predict them?

[Shishlin] It was, indeed, impossible because at the April 1985 session of the CPSU Central Committee we did not yet avail ourselves of a critical, profound analysis of the state of Soviet society. It is true that the entire party felt the urgent need for changes, although hardly anyone called them restructuring then. The rough outlines of the first steps of a revolutionary renewal of social life were drawn then. But I repeat that at that time neither the Central Committee nor the Politburo could anticipate that truthful analysis would lead to such radical conclusions and that the overcoming of stagnation would require such vigorous, cardinal measures. What happened in April 1985 was the assertion of a sober view of reality, of its pluses and minuses. This was the basic prerequisite for the evolution of the revolutionary processes in which we participate and to which we bear witness today.

[Jancura] In other words, the concept of restructuring was not the result of some sort of "work behind closed doors" by enlightened politicians, as people in the West present the matter.

[Shishlin] Restructuring had been prepared by the entire preceding development of our society. The CPSU's post-April policy is a product of collective knowledge, it is the sum total of strategic decisions at which the party arrived in seeking answers to the new questions that were raised by the aforementioned development. Why is it the party that has played the role of a vanguard in devising the strategy of restructuring? You must know that some 20 million communists are associated in the party today. Party organizations operate in literally every labor collective. It is precisely in the labor collectives that the heterogeneous interests of disparate social groups converge. Who else, if not the communists, can summarize all these interests, generalize them, and find harmonious, rational solutions benefiting each group and the society at large?

[Jancura] However, the party's assuming its place in the forefront of restructuring was conditional on the reorientation of its own activity, on the party itself going through its own kind of restructuring. What specific expression has this found?

[Shishlin] I will first answer in a rather general way: It has found its expression in a marked galvanizing of all party organizations, starting with primary organizations, into action. We have far fewer boring, dull meetings today. They discuss, as a rule, the most burning problems, the actual vital needs and requirements of the working people. Participants in raykom or gorkom sessions know in advance the content of the report and are thus able to duly prepare themselves and to discuss things in a businesslike and constructive manner. This had not been the case in the past and sessions suffered from ostentatiousness and formalism. All key issues, including cadre issues, are no longer discussed in the narrow circle of the party bureau or committee, but with

the participation of the entire organization and of all communists—for example, with the help of sociological surveys of their views and attitudes.

We cannot invite your readers to our membership meetings so that they can gain first-hand experience of this, but it will suffice when they look at our party press, which faithfully reflects the new situation in the CPSU. And one more thing: Our party has cleansed itself in these 3 years, a new moral atmosphere has come into being in it. Thanks to glasnost and enhanced party ethics, it is getting rid of careerists, string-pullers, to say nothing of law offenders.

[Jancura] At the same time Central Committee documents and M.S. Gorbachev's speeches keep stressing that this is but the beginning of a long and complicated road....

[Shishlin] Indeed, the restoration of the Leninist norms of internal party life, the profound democratization of the party must not be the subject of some one-time campaign, but a continuous process. We are all familiar with Lenin's precept about democratic centralism. Unfortunately, for many decades only its second part used to be stressed. Today we deem it essential, without renouncing centralism, to accentuate democratism.

[Jancura] The preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, too, are marked by this spirit. What main results can be expected of it?

[Shishlin] It would be premature to speak about conclusions today. But one thing is certain even now: There will be no backing away from the strategic line aimed at society's revolutionary renewal. Quite to the contrary, I am convinced that the conference will approve new radical, bold measures that will help ensure the necessary depth and pace of restructuring and that will help the party cope with its vanguard role in this process.

I do not doubt that among the subjects of discussion will be, for instance, experiences from the new method of elections to leading party agencies. Until now we have only been experimenting. The conference will discuss the mechanisms of true elections at all levels of party leadership.

You surely read the letters from CPSU members on the pages of our central press. Many of them propose that the conference impose a limit on terms for this or that function. The ideas of the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee are also instructive for us in this respect.

[Jancura] SOVETSKAYA KULTURA has published a statement by the well-known playwright Aleksandr Gelman made at a membership meeting of communists in the leadership of the USSR Union of Film Artists. He proposed, among other things, that the conference and sessions of the CPSU Central Committee be public, that the general public to be able to familiarize itself also with contributions to the discussion. What do you think about this?

[Shishlin] It is quite possible that the conference will also assume a position on this proposal. But let us not speak about things that are only up to its delegates to decide. There can be no doubt about one thing: The conference, its course, and its results will be a revelation for every observer.

[Jancura] The polemics in the Soviet press triggered by the article "I Cannot Renounce My Principles" is considered to be a major landmark in preparations for the conference. Many people have called the article a manifesto, an ideological platform of forces that are opposed to restructuring. How numerous and influential are these forces? Do they constitute an opposition?

[Shishlin] It would be inaccurate to claim that restructuring does not have opponents or, if it does have them, that they are weak, do not wield any influence, and that, therefore, they need not be taken seriously. Far from it! The forces that consciously or unconsciously resist the process of renewal lean on yesterday's awareness and on the practices of the administrative-command system of management they have been applying for decades and they will not vanish in a year. This is not to say that there is some organized political opposition. But the fact is that the braking forces have struck roots in the economic and intellectual spheres and in the state and, partly, also in the party apparatus. We do not exaggerate when we claim restructuring is a revolution. There is no revolution without opponents. Every revolution is not only "for" something, but also "against" something. Ours is against the violation of Leninist norms and principles, against deformations of socialism. That is why we have proclaimed the slogan: More socialism, more democracy, more glasnost.

[Jancura] Wherein lies the greatest danger today—in trailing behind development, or in running ahead of it, in conservatism, or in avant-gardism?

[Shishlin] It would be a rather scholastic dispute. However, I believe that for a society that is emerging from stagnation the forces of conservatism pose the far greater threat.

[Jancura] What would you like to say at the end?

[Shishlin] Although we are still short of many things, on the consumer goods market, for instance, time has confirmed the correctness of the CPSU's strategic choice. We will continue to take the path of democratization and radical economic reform, the path of restructuring.

[Jancura] Thank you for the interview.

Romanian Enterprises' Formalism Addressed
PM271130 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Volodin report under the rubric "From the Romanian Newspapers": "Formalism Versus Efficiency"]

[Text] Bucharest—That was the headline under which the newspaper SCINTEIA recently published an article which uses one enterprise as an example to raise a problem that is causing serious concern.

..."At first the impression was created that the comrades from the leadership of the Buzau glass plant with whom we talked do not understand what the discussion is about. Then they acknowledged, however, that at their plant the workers' participation in collective management of the enterprise could be rather wider. They also agreed that the existing situation grew up as a result of a distorted view of the principles of workers' self-management. Asked to explain this, they told us:

"'You see, general meetings of working people are attended by a large number of invited comrades from higher organizations, associations, and ministries, sometimes even the ministers themselves. We have a profound interest in ensuring that our representatives create a good impression, and this depends largely on the preparation and presentation of the speakers' reports. We require a full list of speakers before the meeting starts.'

"This," the newspaper observes, "is a typical example of formalism, when certain leaders, carried away by ensuring that the speeches are smoothly constructed, forget that working people's meetings exist to resolve important production questions, and not for some people to make an impression on others. As the supreme organ of workers' self-management, general meetings of working people are called upon to monitor the activity of the management apparatus of all subunits of the enterprise, and at the same time, which is particularly important, to strengthen socialist consciousness and discipline and develop initiative and social responsibility. However, this cannot be done where the opinion of the majority of working people is ignored by the official speakers, whose sole aim is to create a favorable impression of themselves.

"Last year there were 3 general meetings at the Buzau glass plant, at which 29 people spoke. Who were they? There were 17 engineers, 6 economists, 5 foremen, and... 1 worker. Of course, they are all working people. Each of them has every right to mount the platform. But the method by which the speakers were chosen indicates prejudice at best.

"It is not hard to imagine the atmosphere prevailing at these forums. Those present listened or pretended to be listening to the speakers. The presidium, for its part, zealously demonstrated its 'democratism' to the auditorium. The organizational section was splendidly organized, but that was where the formal nature of the measure lay. We inquired at the plant: 'Has anything changed since these meetings?' 'Nothing.' Some people set forth the plan target figures, others gave assurances that they will make every effort to implement them. And that was all. But no one from the association wanted to hear that the plant is not capable of manufacturing, for instance, 200,000 square meters of motor vehicle glass. We were told: 'There is no point debating it—that is the target...'

"...Of course, it is not difficult to take cover, as in the old days, beneath the impenetrable formula 'it is the plan.' What is the result? First and foremost, there is an economic effect: Out of the 200,000 square meters of motor vehicle glass 'planned' contrary to public opinion, by the end of 1987 only 90,000 had been produced! On the other hand, seeing that their arguments are ignored, people feel humiliated, and from an awareness of disregard for their opinions to total indifference to production affairs is a short step... You could hardly find a better word than formalism to describe such meetings.

"We talked," the article goes on to say, "with worker Dumitru Ilie, who spoke at a general meeting of working people in February of last year:

"'At that time, I wanted to bring to the Presidium's attention the complaints I had made at other meetings too. Every time, the comrades from the association replied that they had taken note of my observations... And that was the end of it.'

"Formally, a working people's council also exists at the plant. The 9 commissions include more than 60 people, only a few of whom take part in their work. Some, although they were present during the elections, do not know that they are on the council. Quite by chance, our choice fell on foreman Tudor Mirchoyu [as published], whom we asked:

"'Do you know you are on the commission for the scientific organization and improved productivity of labor?'

"'It's the first I've heard of it. Until February of last year I was on the working people's council, but then they told me I had been voted out...'

"That is another indication of the typical situation where under cover of making things look good from outside, the crux of the matter is completely forgotten. Formalism and workers' democracy are incompatible..."

The new financial and economic mechanism—that is the title given to the package of measures to organize production management begun in Romania in 1987. Workers' self-management has an important place in it.

Workers' self-management organs have now been created at all Romania's enterprises and production associatons. They operate most effectively where, as SCINTEIA writes, "the organization of self-management conforms not only with the letter, but with the spirit of workers' democracy." At the plants where the practice is to "bypass the opinion of the majority, formalism generates social apathy, stifles initiatives, and suppresses any initiatives."

West Europe

Danish Non-Nuclear Step 'Internal Matter'

LD271128 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 27 Apr 88

[TEXT] Moscow April 27 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

A two-day meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group opened in Brussels today. There seems to be nothing unusual about this fact: NATO defense ministers hold such meetings twice a year on a regular basis, in spring and autumn. What is unusual about it is that the venue was changed from the Danish city of Kolding to the Belgian capital.

This decision, according to observers, is directly linked with the recent resolution of Folketing (Danish parliament), practically banning ships with nuclear weapons on board from entering Danish ports. The resolution caused an irritation and panic in NATO capitals. As U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz admitted, the position of Danish parliamentarians has created a real problem for NATO.

Denmark's non-nuclear status has been ignored by Denmark's NATO partners for a long time. In the past two decades American nuclear missile-carriers used Danish ports as their bases. The resolution of the Folketing is called upon to remind that Denmark does not allow nuclear weapons on its territory, including ports.

It is believed in Moscow's diplomatic circles that the decision of the Danish MPs is a purely internal matter of Denmark. The Soviet Union respected and continues to respect the laws and rules of other states. Proceeding from this, the USSR will be ready to guarantee that Soviet naval vessels calling at Danish ports carry no nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union sees Denmark's non-nuclear policy as a major contribution to strengthening stability in northern Europe and, consequently, European security as a whole.

In this connection, it can be reminded that the USSR supports the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe and, if such a decision is taken, is ready to become its guarantor. As General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev said in Murmansk in October 1987, the Soviet Union is ready to discuss with every interested state or a group of states all problems connected with the creation of a nuclear-free zone, including possible measures with regard to Soviet territory. The Soviet Union could go relatively far, in particular, it could withdraw its submarines with ballistic missiles from the Baltic Fleet.

Scientific Cooperation Developing With Finland

PM261609 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by TASS correspondents A. Surikov and A. Turbin: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] Helsinki, 20 Apr—Extensive, multifaceted, and dynamic scientific cooperation between Soviet and Finnish scientists will continue to develop fruitfully for the benefit of both countries' peoples. This idea is stressed in the protocol on cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Finnish Academy signed in Helsinki.

The document was signed on behalf of the Soviet side by G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and head of the delegation of Soviet scientists here, and for the Finnish side by E. Allardt, president of the Finnish Academy.

The protocol notes, in particular, the successful development of bilateral ties in implementing joint scientific and research projects. An accord to study the question of implementing new joint projects related to northern topics was reached during talks between the two countries' scientists, which were held in a spirit of complete mutual understanding, frankness, and friendship. The Finnish Academy has agreed to serve as an intermediary for the USSR Academy of Sciences in the selection of Finnish partners to set up Soviet-Finnish enterprises. Other practical measures to further increase cooperation between the two countries' scientific establishments were examined and agreed.

The talks between representatives of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Finnish Academy have been held in an exceptionally constructive spirit, and their participants have outlined specific ways of developing future cooperation between the two countries' scientists, Prof E. Allardt stated in conversation with your TASS correspondents. There are 35 joint projects currently under way, embracing virtually all spheres of knowledge, both fundamental and applied sciences.

Laptev Leads Delegation on Visit to Finland

LD262112 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Helsinki April 26 TASS—A delegation of the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Ivan Laptev, member of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Soviet of the

Union and editor-in-chief of the newspaper "IZVESTIYA," which stays here on a visit, met today with members of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Finnish parliament.

The Finnish side pointed out that relations between the two countries were successfully developing on the firm basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 1948 which enjoys full support of the country's parliament. Parliamentarians noted that Finland was following with great interest and sympathy perestroyka which was in progress in the USSR. They expressed confidence that the process would help enrich relations between the two countries and open new possibilities for the further development of mutual advantageous cooperation.

During the talk the sides noted with satisfaction the growing role of parliamentarians in implementing foreign policy. When discussing issues of the north, the Finnish side said that Finland appraised highly the Soviet Union's stand in support of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe.

On the same day delegation members visited the Finnish Institute of Foreign Policy and familiarized themselves with its activities.

More on Tolkunov-Led Delegation in Finland

Received by Koivisto

LD262101 Moscow TASS In English 1842 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Helsinki April 26 TASS—Today Finnish President Mauno Koivisto received Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who stays here in connection with a joint Soviet-Finnish inter-parliamentary seminar on ensuring security and peaceful cooperation in the north, including the Arctic.

During the talk the sides examined some questions pertaining to Soviet initiatives on bringing down military confrontation and development of peaceful cooperation in northern regions, as well as Finnish proposals on confidence-building measures in sea areas of northern Europe.

Lev Tolkunov departed for home on the same day.

Tolkunov Interviewed on Return

LD271936 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev:

Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, one of the two houses of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (the national parliament), who is back in Moscow after attending a Soviet-Finnish interparliamentary seminar on security and peaceful cooperation in the north, including the Arctic, described the exchanges of opinions there as "mutually useful and constructive".

Speaking in TASS interview, Tolkunov, who returned home Tuesday, said the lively and thorough discussions in Helsinki focused on the wide-ranging program of action proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech in Murmansk last October.

The speech raised vital problems concerning the people of northern countries, most notably security issues.

Finnish MPs showed a special interest in a Soviet proposal for limiting and reducing naval activity in the north, Tolkunov said.

He added that the attending parliamentarians were unanimous that the priority facing European nations is to scale down military confrontation and enhance stability on the continent in general and in its individual regions as an indispensable condition for building a "common European home".

Making northern Europe a nuclear-free zone could constitute an important contribution to this cause.

An address from the foreign relations commissions of the Soviet parliament's Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities to the parliaments and MPs in northern Europe, the United States and Canada, calling for making the north a real zone of peace and fruitful interaction, has evoked a positive response among the Finnish parliamentarians.

The Soviet and Finnish MPs, Tolkunov said, pointed with satisfaction to marked progress in coordinating scientific studies in the Arctic. There has been energetic work under way, for example, in the field of economic cooperation as part of the so-called Kola Project.

Tolkunov said a keen interest was demonstrated also in environmental protection, including air environment, in the north, considering the vulnerability of nature there. The Finnish MPs reaffirmed their readiness to take part in a meeting suggested by the USSR Supreme Soviet to discuss ecological measures in the north.

Dobrynin Receives British Communists in Moscow

PM271455 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting took place at the CPSU Central Committee on 26 April between A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of

the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and a Communist Party of Great Britain [CPGB] delegation made up of G. McLennan, general secretary of the CPGB, M. Darke, chairman of the CPGB Executive Committee, and M. Jacques, member of the CPGB Executive Committee Political Committee.

Joint Communique by CPSU and CPGB Representatives [subhead]

The representatives of the CPSU and the CPGB discussed questions about the international situation, primarily prospects for future measures in disarmament and relations between the two parties.

In the opinion of both delegations, the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in December 1987 was a significant achievement for all the world's peace-loving forces and for all mankind and a success for the new political thinking and the Soviet Government's peace initiatives. This agreement proves that arms reduction measures are practicable. The verification procedures which are part and parcel of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles constitute a most important achievement, opening the way to new agreements on arms reduction.

The CPSU representatives provided information about the Soviet Union's efforts to implement further measures in the disarmament sphere, in particular the 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, while observing the ABM Treaty, currently being discussed in talks between the Soviet and U.S. Governments, the banning and destruction of chemical weapons, and a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments.

In the opinion of both sides, the process of further disarmament requires active participation and support from all countries, but the main responsibility lies with the nuclear powers. Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Britain could make an important contribution to this process.

The CPGB delegation said that there is broad support in Britain for such cooperation, which is an important factor in improving relations between our two countries. British Communists are participating actively in the peace movement, which is struggling for the full implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, opposing the program for "compensation" and "modernization" put forward by NATO, and advocating the cancellation of the Trident program and conclusion of a treaty on a complete ban on nuclear tests.

There was acknowledgment of the growing understanding in the world of the fact that the expenditure of huge financial, human, and technological resources on arms imposes a grave economic burden on the peoples of the world. Both parties support the call of the UN Conference on Disarmament and Development, held in 1987, for a reduction in military expenditure, allocation of additional resources for development, and resolution of other global problems in the modern world.

The British people will derive great benefit from the cessation of the arms race and use of the resources released for constructing the homes, schools, and hospitals which are so necessary to combatting unemployment and improving the quality of life.

Both parties welcome the upcoming Third UN Special Session on Disarmament, which will begin at the end of May, and think that extensive circulation and implementation of its decisions will be of great significance for ensuring future support for disarmament and international cooperation.

The CPGB representatives expressed their support for the agreement on Afghanistan concluded recently, which entails the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The cessation of this regional conflict could further improve the international climate and open the way to solving other regional conflicts based on the acknowledgment of all peoples' legitimate rights, noninterference, and respect for UN principles. Settling the conflicts in South Africa, the Near East, and Central America requires the active participation of all peace forces throughout the world.

The CPSU delegation reported on the course of the implementation of the revolutionary program of restructuring and democratization now under way in the Soviet Union, which is geared toward fully developing socialism's potential. Peace and international cooperation are needed for the speediest implementation of this program.

The CPGB stated that Communists, socialists, and other progressive forces in Britain are following with interest and sympathy the processes under way in the Soviet Union. Progress in effecting these changes will considerably increase the attractive force of socialism throughout the world.

The CPGB expressed approval for the important meeting held in Moscow on 4-5 November 1987 involving communist parties, socialist, social democratic, and labor parties, and democratic organizations together.

Both parties believe that further cooperation is necessary between communists and other progressive forces, particularly in Europe, to ensure disarmament and interdependence.

British Firms Interested in Joint Ventures

PM251157 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 88 Morning Edition p5

[Own correspondent A. Krivopalov report: "Prospects and Reality"]

[Text] London—On the very day an agreement was signed in Moscow between the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the John Brown Firm on the joint

modernization of a plastics plant, the 72d annual meeting of the British-Soviet Chamber of Trade came to a close in London.

British business circles have recently been showing an increasing interest in establishing joint enterprises in the Soviet Union. More than 40 British firms are currently negotiating with various Soviet organizations. There is considerable potential for expanding ties. The two sides have established that by 1990 the volume of trade will reach R2.5 billion. The preconditions for achieving this aim already exist.

Solovyev Receives Hamburg Senators, Businessmen
PM281051 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 88 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Developing Businesslike Cooperation"]

[Text] Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom, yesterday received in the Smolnyy a delegation from the Hamburg Senate and representatives of Hamburg business circles, who are in our city in connection with a bilateral economic symposium.

Welcoming the guests, Yu.F. Solovyev recalled the long-standing ties of partnership between Leningrad and Hamburg—ties that have played a constructive role in strengthening mutual understanding and cooperation between the two countries' peoples. Under the present conditions of new political thinking and positive changes in international affairs, these relations must be developed more dynamically.

The need for this has been dictated by the restructuring which has been under way in the Soviet Union for 3 years now. The importance of this process is cogently explained in the book by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The tasks of restructuring are being implemented in an atmosphere of democratization, glasnost, and increasing activeness on the part of working people. These changes have affected all aspects of political and social life and are noticeable in the social sphere as well.

One of the main social tasks, Yu.F. Solovyev stressed, is to provide all Leningrad people with their own apartments by the year 2000. In order to solve this problem, it is planned to build 630,000 apartments in the city alone. Appropriations for these purposes have been increased, and use is being made of the funds of industrial enterprises and citizens' personal savings.

The renewal process has also affected foreign economic relations, Yu.F. Solovyev said. Ten enterprises in the city and oblast have already become entitled to independently enter the world market, and the first joint ventures with foreign firms have been set up in the city. These include "Lenvest," organized by Leningrad's "Skorokhod" Association and the West German firm "Salamander." But there are still many difficulties in this work due to the fact that we need to learn a great deal. Leningrad's great industrial and scientific potential, its highly qualified cadres, and the initiative of its working people make us firmly convinced that the goals facing us will be achieved.

Wilhelm Ralfs, leader of the senate delegation, expressed thanks for the interesting briefing on the city and its problems. You have carried out major tasks, he noted, but we understand that you have even more complex problems ahead. We are convinced that the improvement of relations between Hamburg and Leningrad will promote their resolution.

The encouraging beginning in the sphere of cooperation between the two countries' enterprises, the delegation leader stressed, is a good incentive for deepening partnership. The economic restructuring in the Soviet Union opens up good opportunities for this. We are deeply committed to this cooperation, and it seems to us that the Soviet side has the same commitment. We are sure that our business meetings will prove positive.

Yu.F. Solovyev answered numerous questions from representatives of FRG business circles.

The conversation was attended by G.A. Bukin, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom; M.A. Yefimov, USSR Foreign Ministry representative in Leningrad; and Cornelius Metternich, FRG consul general in Leningrad.

USSR-FRG Cooperation Panel Meets in Bonn
PM261545 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session Opened"]

[Text] Bonn, 20 Apr—The first session of the USSR-FRG Joint Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation opened today at the Ministry of Research and Technology. The FRG delegation is headed by Gebhard Ziller, cochairman of the commission and state secretary in the Ministry of Research and Technology. The USSR delegation is headed by K.M. Dyumayev, cochairman of the commission and deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

Participants in the session, which was chaired by G. Ziller, are examining the status and development trend of scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG and progress in implementing specialized intergovernmental agreements on scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in the sphere of the peaceful use of atomic energy, agrarian research, health care, and medical science.

Spanish Policy on Nuclear Arms Passage Deplored
PM271155 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent Vladimir Chernyshev dispatch under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Madrid's 'Scrupulousness'"]

[Text] Madrid—The Spanish socialist government has long cherished the idea of aligning the country with the European defense organization. The chief obstacle in the way of this was the need for Spain to adopt the nuclear policy of the Western European Union [WEU]. The sticking point was the fact that during the referendum held on 12 March 1986 on the country's NATO membership, the government of Felipe Gonzalez pledged "not to site, keep, or import nuclear weapons onto Spanish territory."

The WEU Council of Ministers, whose sessions were being held in The Hague with the participation of the seven countries' foreign and defense ministers, recently announced its members' unanimous decision to begin talks with Spain and Portugal on these countries' alignment with the union. So what had happened? Did the WEU's position change, and did the union make concessions to Madrid regarding the delicacy of the Spanish Government's situation? There was no question of this. The document adopted in The Hague points out: Both Spain and Portugal declared that they were "ready to align themselves with the Brussels Treaty and quite unreservedly accept all parts of the 27 October 1984 Rome declaration and the platform approved in The Hague on 27 October 1987 and are ready to participate in implementing them."

Let us emphasize—all parts. In other words, Spain, despite its special nuclear status, agreed with all points in the WEU's basic documents, including those defining the union's nuclear strategy. So what, then, is going on?

Manuel Sassot, Spanish ambassador to the Netherlands, to whom the WEU Council of Ministers conveyed the union's decision at the end of the session, declared that Spain will smooth all rough edges at the upcoming talks with the WEU by agreeing to the passage of nuclear weapons across its territory.

In connection with the reports from The Hague, Spanish official circles have declared that the government is in no way breaking the promise given in the referendum. What is more, it is "fulfilling it scrupulously." Just so—"scrupulously"! Not with regard to substance but to the letter. The socialists' cabinet promised "not to site, keep, or import nuclear weapons." But it did not promise "not to pass" them through! In other words, they must not be "imported," but they can "pass through"! In that case, it is possible to draw up the schedule of transit shipments in such a way that 10 or 20 missiles with nuclear warheads will always be on Spanish territory. At the same time, a question which gives rise to so much argument is also resolved—the question of foreign warships' calling at Spanish ports, particularly at the U.S. naval base at Rota. Do they have nuclear weapons on board? The United States and Britain refuse to provide any information on their ships' armament when they arrive in Spain "as guests." Now there will be no problem: The ships are not "importing" anything but "passing it through"!

Karpov Visits Madrid To Speak on Disarmament
LD272308 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 2100 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov, who arrived in Madrid tonight and who will speak on disarmament in the Spanish capital, said on his arrival at Barajas airport that he did not understand Spain's desire to join the Western European Union:

[Begin Karpov recording in Russian with superimposed Spanish translation] We have to look for new ways to reduce the confrontation between the powers and arrive at the complete elimination of military blocs. [end recording]

Gorbachev Congratulates Cypriot Socialist Leader
PM271553 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Gorbachev message to new Cypriot Socialist leader]

[Text] To Comrade Dhimitris Khristofias, secretary general of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus [AKEL] Central Committee

Dear Comrade Dhimitris Khristofias,

I sincerely congratulate you on your election to the high office of general secretary of the AKEL Central Committee.

I wish you and all Cypriot comrades success in the struggle to bring about the triumph of the ideals of peace, democracy, and socialism and a just settlement of the Cyprus problem.

With Communist greetings,

M. Gorbachev

Pope Receives TASS Journalist Krasikov
LD231353 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT 23 Apr 88

[Text] Rome April 23 TASS—Pope John Paul II, head of the Vatican City state, today gave a private audience to Anatoliy Krasikov, deputy director general of the Soviet news agency TASS.

The Soviet journalist has been invited to Rome by the Italy-USSR Friendship Society and taken part in a series of discussions and round-table meetings which considered cooperation between believers and atheists in solving major problems of the times.

Vorontsov Begins Visit to Turkey 26 Apr
LD261922 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Ankara April 26 TASS—Today Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, arrived here on a visit at the invitation of the Turkish side. At the Ankara Airport Esenboga the guest was welcomed by Nuzhet Kandemir, first deputy foreign minister of Turkey, Turkish officials and Albert Chernyshov, Soviet ambassador to Turkey.

During the visit Yuliy Vorontsov will hold talks on questions of bilateral Soviet-Turkish relations, as well on some international and regional issues.

Consular Convention Signed
LD271925 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Ankara, 27 Apr (TASS)—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, is on a visit here at the invitation of the Turkish side. Today the Soviet representative conducted negotiations with Mesut Yilmaz, Turkish foreign minister, and Nuzhet Kandemir, first deputy foreign minister of Turkey. During the negotiations, the sides discussed issues relating to further development of Soviet-Turkish relations and a number of topical international and regional problems of mutual interest.

A consular convention between the USSR and the Turkish Republic was signed today by Yu.M. Vorontsov and N. Kandemir. At the signing ceremony, the sides pointed out that this convention will be another major step towards further developing good-neighborly relations between the two countries.

The negotiations will be continued tomorrow.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Aide Denies 'Brigade' Presence in Panama
PM271329 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report on interview in Havana with Miguel Brugueras, Cuban vice foreign minister, by own correspondent A. Moiseyev: "'D' (Disinformation) Bomb. 'News' Which Was Laughable"; date of interview not given]

[Text] THE WASHINGTON TIMES recently carried an article by James Dorsey and Lou Marano which affirmed, inter alia, that:

U.S. intelligence service spokesmen have stated that the number of Cubans in Panama rose after an international brigade numbering 800-1,200 soldiers, most of whom were Cubans, landed in a remote region in the northwest of the country on 5 April.

A Washington spokesman who confirmed the presence of this brigade, also reported by other individuals, believes that there are at present 1,800 Cubans and Nicaraguans in the country being trained by Soviet personnel for partisan warfare and subversive operations.

At the request of the PRAVDA correspondent in Havana Miguel Brugueras, the Cuban vice foreign minister comments on this stunning piece of news.

When reading such falsehoods, he said, it is necessary to remember that THE WASHINGTON TIMES is one of the world's most reactionary newspapers. It has always been maintained by and expressed the interests of extreme right-wing imperialist circles. Apart from anything else, this newspaper is owned by Moon, the well-known South Korean dealer and head of the reactionary sect which bears his name.

When we learned, my interocutor continued, thanks to THE WASHINGTON TIMES, about the arrival in Panama of the "Marxist-Leninist brigade," we had a good laugh. For strictly speaking, what could this falsehood have evoked apart from laughter? If we are being serious: The article in the U.S. newspaper, like other, similar articles, is an element in the extensive propaganda campaign by which the U.S. Government is today trying to discredit the Panamanian leadership. U.S. imperialist circles are thus trying their utmost to impede the fulfillment of the well-known treaty governing the transfer of the Panama Canal to the Panamanians themselves in 12 years' time. Their task is to retain for the Pentagon the area of this country's territory where it has set up its military bases.

In short, we are observing an unprecedented act of open economic, political, and diplomatic aggression against a small country like Panama involving the U.S. Congress, the Pentagon, the CIA, the State Department, and the U.S. big press. Flagrantly interfering in Panama's internal affairs, Washington has considerably increased its troop contingent at the bases, thus subjecting the Panamanians to armed blackmail.

But we are profoundly convinced, M. Brugeras went on to say, that they will not succeed in cowing the people of this Republic. They are courageously defending the sovereignty and independence of their motherland. It is typical that in recent weeks a wave of solidarity with the struggling people of Panama has swept the whole of Latin America. While acting in support of this Republic, the parliaments, political parties, and movements of our continent are at the same time protesting against U.S. interference in their internal affairs.

No, THE WASHINGTON TIMES has not surprised us at all by its anti-Panamanian article. We were not surprised because this newspaper is renowned for its articles advocating the continuation of U.S. military aid to the Nicaraguan contras. So it desperately propagandizes a "solution" of the regional conflict in Central America involving the use of weapons, rather than by means of the peaceful settlement for which the Contadora Group and the Support Group are striving, as also are the parties to the Guatemala accords and the peoples of the world as the whole.

Ortega Says U.S. 'Frustrating' Peace Process

LD271102 Moscow TASS in English 0702 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Havana April 27 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has accused the U.S. Administration of pursuing an overt policy towards frustrating the peace process in Central America.

In an interview with the PRENSA LATINA news agency he has emphasized that if the war against Nicaragua is continued, all people of the country will be mobilized for complete elimination of the contra forces.

Dnaiel Ortega pointed out that in the event of failure of the talks with the contra leaders on the question of a final ceasefire, the country would make every effort to do away with contra forces as quickly as possible. That would be an offensive on an unprecedented scale.

The Nicaraguan president pointed out that a decision to mobilise national forces for finally defeating the contras had already been taken and that the country war prepared to resort to this measure if necessary.

Parliamentarians End Trinidad, Tobago Visit

LD271805 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Port of Spain (Trinidad and Tobago) April 27 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Mikhail Fokin:

The delegation of Soviet MPs currently on a good-will mission in the Caribbean countries have ended their official visit to Trinidad and Tobago.

The members of the Soviet delegation led by Aleksandr Mokanu, vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, were received by President Noor Mohammed Hassanali, Prime Minister Arthur N.R. Robinson, and met and talked with Foreign Minister Basdeo, members of the Council of Ministers. The talks which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, covered Soviet-Trinidad relations, the most topical international issues, the fight for peace, disarmament and strengthening of international security. The sides also discussed the situation in Central America, the Middle East and South Africa, the situation around Afghanistan.

Trinidad and Tobago, the country's foreign minister said, welcomed the Soviet Union's peace initiatives aimed at lessening international tensions and ending the arms race. The developing countries, he said, have a vital stake in a limitation of a weapons race and the use of the funds thus released for the resolution of burning problems they encounter.

In its foreign policy, he continued, Trinidad and Tobago adhere to the principles of the Nonaligned Movement, favours a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict within the framework of the Contadora process, the settlement of all disputable issues between states at the negotiating table. In that connection Trinidad and Tobago welcomes the agreement on political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

In conclusion Basdeo voiced hope for a further development of relations between the two countries and noted that his government is attentively following the current process of perestroyka in the USSR and wishes the Soviet people much success in the resolution of the tasks.

The delegation of Soviet MPs left by air for Kingston, the capital of Jamaica, another Caribbean island state.

Uruguayan Communist Party Group Visits Moscow

LD272250 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—A delegation from the Communist Party of Uruguay led by Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the party's Central Committee, arrived in Moscow today at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Political & Social

Ligachev Reportedly Absent at Key Meetings

AU281130 Paris AFP in English 1119 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 28 (AFP)—Kremlin Number Two Yegor Ligachev Wednesday failed to attend two key meetings devoted to ideology, the Communist Party daily PRAVDA indicated Thursday, fuelling fresh speculation that his portfolio had been taken over by a close associate of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

PRAVDA said that Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev, a Gorbachev ally responsible for propaganda, had spoken at a meeting devoted to ideological matters for Communist Party officials, or cadres, in the media—an area in which Mr. Ligachev should have preeminence. Mr. Yakovlev also attended the opening of a conference devoted to history, which was also believed to be part of Mr. Ligachev's portfolio.

Mr. Ligachev, reputedly a conservative hardliner, was not on the list of participants at either meeting reported by PRAVDA. But he was apparently not ill, as he met Wednesday with South African Communist leader Joe Slovo. Rumours had circulated earlier this month that Mr. Ligachev, who is officially the Communist Party's ideological watchdog and responsible for party cadres, had lost at least part of his portfolio to Mr. Yakovlev after a conservative challenge to Mr. Gorbachev's reforms mounted by the Soviet daily SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Mr. Ligachev was said to have had a hand in the article, which complained that current reforms were moving away from Communist principles. But Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze firmly denied last Friday that there had been any change in Mr. Ligachev's duties.

The exact responsibilities of Mr. Yakovlev and Mr. Ligachev have always been unclear, as Mr. Yakovlev's official propaganda portfolio overlaps with Mr. Ligachev's overall ideological duties.

Gromyko Chairs Supreme Soviet Meeting

LD261450 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place in the Kremlin today under the chairmanship of Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Among other things, the question of the results of an examination of proposals and observations from the standing commissions, the chambers, and deputies put forward at the seventh and eighth sessions of the supreme body of state authority were discussed. Details in our next news program.

Maslyukov, Others Address Council of Ministers

LD251932 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At a regular session today, the USSR Council of Ministers examined the following matter: the results in fulfilling the state plan for the country's economic and social development in the first quarter, and the state of wholesale trade in the national economy and prospects for its development in light of the decisions of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade Maslyukov, chairman of USSR Gosplan, and Comrade Gostev, USSR minister of finance, delivered reports on the first matter. They noted that certain positive changes took place in the first quarter in the country's social and economic development. However, the central issue in the reports and speeches was how to improve the state of affairs in precisely those sectors which are today lagging behind and holding back general movement along the path of restructuring.

A business-like discussion on matters of principle took place. The keenest debate was on the problem of supplying the country with food. Attempts by the chairmen of councils of ministers of the Ukraine, Moldavia, and Georgia to explain the reduction of meat production in these republics as resulting from objective factors failed to receive the support of those taking part in the session.

A decision adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers took account of proposals from USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the councils of ministers of the union republics. These chart out measures ensuring the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of annual plans for producing meat and milk products, food for children and those on special diets, and a number of other goods.

It was stated at the USSR Council of Ministers session that the failure to satisfy fully the demand for many consumer goods and services is creating many difficulties in normalizing currency circulation in the country and is leading to an imbalance between the growth of the population's incomes and their expenditures. It was pointed out that a number of ministries and departments underestimate the role of coproduction. The USSR Council of Ministers devoted a great deal of attention to an analysis of the shortcomings in the work of the national economic complexes and individual industries. Particularly close study was given to a study of the reasons for the lagging of the machine-building complex. Serious criticisms were also addressed to the ministries forming part of the construction complex.

At the USSR Council of Ministers session it was emphasized that all these shortcomings have become a serious brake upon the growth of output and enhancement of the national well-being. The USSR Government required the standing organs of the USSR Council of Ministers,

the heads of ministries and departments of the USSR, and the councils of ministers of the union republics to implement specific measures to eliminate shortcomings and to make a fundamental change in their organizational and economic activities. Among the general package of issues, the USSR Government singled out the current affairs of rural workers.

Comrade Voronin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, pointed out in a speech on the second matter that the experience of a large group of consumers who were transferred in 1987 and 1988 to supply without fixed allocations, budget ceilings, and authorizations confirms the important advantages of wholesale trade, compared to the traditional forms of supply and sale of products. Not a few facts were cited at the session, however, which testified to the fact that the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee are developing work on organizing wholesale trade only slowly.

Comrades Slyunkov, Maslyukov, and Talyzin took part in the work of the USSR Council of Ministers session. Comrade Ryzhkov delivered a speech at the session.

The full text of a report on the regular session of the USSR Council of Ministers will be published in the press tomorrow.

Talyzin at Opening of Eye Microsurgery Branch

LD262057 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A branch of the intersectoral scientific-technological complex of microsurgery of the eye was opened in Moscow today. [passage omitted] Comrade Talyzin was present at the opening ceremony. [passage omitted]

Moscow TV Shows Program on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD271433 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 26 April broadcasts a 90-minute installment of the "Standpoint" program. The program opens with video showing city scenes. An announcer says: "Comrades, we offer for your attention another broadcast of the 'Standpoint' program: Nagorno-Karabakh—Reflections Aloud. The presenter is writer Genrikh Borovik." A caption reads: "Standpoint—an All-Union Art and Publicity Program on Man's Spiritual Life. Editor in chief: Genrikh Borovik." Speakers have been identified where possible throughout.

A woman is shown against a backdrop of the city. A voice from out of shot asks her: "(?Can we go ahead)?

"[Woman] Please do, so long as you refrain from editing what I have to say. I am dissatisfied because I witnessed all these events, and our mass media have not reflected all the events that took place in our town accurately.

"[Voice] Could you make yourself more precise? Which mass media? Your television, the Armenian one, or Central Television?

"[Woman] Yes, let us begin with Central Television. Central Television initially passed over the demonstrations in silence. What, then, is taking place in Yerevan and why is it that it used constantly to be said: Events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it? But what did take place in Nagorno-Karabakh as a matter of fact? I am more than convinced that in some 30 years, when real events may well be given truthful coverage in our press—perhaps it will happen in 5 years, or 2, I do not know—but, looking at how the process of democratizing society will proceed in our country and this policy of glasnost and restructuring, which—this policy, I mean—is being hampered, clearly hampered, there are enemies of this policy and that is a fact!"

The out-of-shot voice says that the film crew arrived in Yerevan on the eve of 26 March, when some sort of disturbance was expected, though no one was able to say precisely what. However, all was calm. Various unidentified people, interviewed at the market, say that the recent events failed to influence trading. They do not fear that something might happen. One man says there are fewer people at the market than before because of the situation. A young woman says that the recent events affected trading adversely; fewer people came to the market.

"[Voice] All was calm, both on the eve of 26 March and on the day itself. It was, however, enough to appear on the streets with a television camera to understand that passions had not yet abated, nor had disputes died down.

"[Female interviewer, to a group of men] What sort of mood are you in today?

"[First man] Our mood is not very good.

"[Interviewer] [question indistinct, drowned out by second man]

"[Second man] Well, it is an insult to the people!

"[Third man] Well, because what is the meaning of this?

"[Second man] It is an insult to the people! Why, for instance, did they involve the troops?!

"[Fourth man] Ours are very ancient cultures and a very civilized people. This, for us is, well, if the troops were not there, we would not have come here, nonetheless because our intelligentsia, our elders, explained to us on television that going out is not on, let us wait for the Politburo decision.

"[Fifth man] Generally, as far as coverage by the daily SUMGAIT is concerned, for some reason they do not mention the nationality of the victims.

"[Sixth man] The most important thing.

"[Fifth man, continuing] One would think it was Armenians who took part in these crimes there.

"[Seventh man] Everything ought to be tackled with the strictest possible observation of the Constitution."

The video shows a group of militiamen walking nearby. One of them suddenly tries to put his hand over the lens. He is wearing civilian clothes. Another man tries to remove his hand. The out-of-shot voice says: "A hand covering the camera lens is, perhaps, not the best way to search for the truth." The video then shows the female interviewer trying to speak with an elderly man and being interrupted by a uniformed militiaman, who puts his hand over the camera lens. The out-of-shot voice continues: "...even if this hand belongs to a local militiaman." A dispute takes place in which the militiaman insists on seeing the film crew's permit, which they insist they have already shown. The scene then switches abruptly to show the female interviewer speaking with a man identified by screen caption as singer R. Pogosyan.

"[Interviewer] What mood are you in today?

"[Pogosyan] To tell the truth, I feel bad. I feel bad and hurt that these events connected with Nagorno-Karabakh have reached the point that troops are in our city.

"[Interviewer] Excuse me, but in your view, what is the cause? Why did all this happen?

"[Pogosyan] My consciousness tell me that you cannot resolve all this at a stroke. You cannot do it right away, since there is such a wealth of testimony and documents that a special commission of historians and sociologists is needed here, of people who deal with these things. What is to be done so that Nagorno-Karabakh lives well, without ups or downs, as all people live? I personally feel very bad when attempts are made to label us as antisocialist elements of some kind.

"[Interviewer] You do not think that this is a nationalist, (?chauvinist) phenomenon?

"[Pogosyan] No, as far as our side is concerned, no. My opinion is that it is not a nationlist movement because we have been living and will continue to live in harmony.

"[A. Chinoyan, builder—identified by screen caption] There was nothing special in Yerevan by way of disturbances. There were only peaceful demonstrations. These demonstrations were not caused in Yerevan itself; they were caused by people being killed there, in Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumgait, and no one defended them.

"[Man] Yes, yes, as I understand it, there were very many great injustices there connected with culture, education, relations with...

"[Borovik, interrupting] Well, I am simply talking about the fact that there were no killings, while you say that the demonstrations began after the killings, but there were no killings and one should not just...

"[Chinoyan, interrupting] You mean that there were no killings in Karabakh?

"[Voice in background] But we are having this conversation and it is being beamed to the whole of the USSR.

"[Chinoyan] Yes, yes. Let's go ahead with it.

"[Borovik] But you are telling our correspondent that demonstrations began in Armenia only after Armenians had been killed in Karabakh, but this is not true.

"[Chinoyan] The demonstrations of people, people, of all people, took place only after Armenians began to be killed in Karabakh, but before that, before that...

"[Borovik, interrupting] That is not correct; there were no killings.

"[Chinoyan] Why? How will you prove that it is incorrect?

"[Borovik] "Quite simply, I was there; I know. I am not defending anyone; I am simply trying to get at the truth.

"[Pogosyan] Maybe there were no killings, but there were beatings.

"[Borovik] But in Azerbaijan it is explained that these events, barbaric events, naturally, took place after the demonstration here.

"[Pogosyan] And the fact that the troops and armored personnel carriers [APC's] are deployed in our town, on the Teatralnaya Ploshchad, is that a rumor, too?

"[Borovik] This is not a rumor; we will film it and show it."

The video then shows four young soldiers being interviewed by correspondent G. Solomatin, who asks them when they arrived. "On the 20th," says one. Nothing has happened in the town since then. The soldiers were greeted in a friendly way; the situation is normal. The soldiers, all of whom are Russian, like the local people,

the local bread, and the local girls. However, duty is duty. One cannot get to know them, says one, but he will visit Yerevan again to learn about its history.

"[Borovik] Fine lads, with friendly dispositions. The Yerevan girls gave them flowers and sweets. All the same, they are troops, troops brought into the capital of one of our Soviet socialist republics. APC's stood in the square that surrounds the opera building, at the entrances to bridges. In those days, troops were in both Stepanakert and Sumgait, on the territory of Azerbaijan, that is. This took place as the result of a conflict—let us use this word—connected with the fate of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] in the Azerbaijan SSR."

Borovik goes on to describe Armenia's cultural and historical achievements as the video shows Yerevan and Baku; monuments there to various luminaries from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Russia. Borovik praises Baku's revolutionary traditions and wartime efforts; Armenians and Azerbaijanis, their common contribution to world civilization. The video shows ancient manuscripts and monuments. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians live in Azerbaijan, and vice versa. "They live as brothers."

"[Borovik] It seemed to many that all questions concerning relations among the nationalities had been solved throughout the country, and particularly in the Caucasus, they were confident, completely confident, in the stability of the feeling of internationalism.

"And suddenly... This is Stepanakert, capital of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR, and the square in front of the party obkom building. These shots were taken on 26 February, but such demonstrations had already begun in mid-February. People demand that Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast should be joined with Armenia. The oblast Soviet session lent its support to this demand."

Black and white video shows a crowd of people, waving fists and shouting: "We demand." At the bottom left corner of the screen is the date: 26/02/88. A banner is held aloft, saying: "NKAO is an inalienable part of Armenia."

"[Man speaking against backdrop of demonstrators] This is an objective demand of the people: to put right a historical mistake, allowed to have been made in 1923. I think this wish is completely realistic, and it is connected with restructuring and democracy in our society; this question ought to be resolved correctly, in the Leninist way.

"[Another man against the backdrop of demonstrators] It is a centuries-old dream, a centuries-old dream of ours, and it should triumph. We do not pursue nationalist aims; we preserve our friendship with our fraternal Azerbaijani people, as ever."

The video goes on to show a woman speaking, with demonstrators in the background, about the fact that young people have nowhere to go; they have no cultural or sports centers. She is sorry that ancient historical monuments have been allowed to fall into disrepair.

"[Old man, with demonstrators in background, speaking in Armenian with superimposed Russian translation] I have come here, to lend my support to the demands that Karabakh should be joined with Armenia. My ancestors, my parents, had lived here. I lost my parents during the war. They, in turn, lost their parents and relatives. Now we have democracy and I want us to be joined with Armenia."

The video then shows a general view of the demonstrators, who carry placards bearing protraits and slogans. A close-up shot of one placard reveals the picture of a man cowering behind a managerial chair, grasping it tightly in his hands, unwilling to let go. The caption reads: "Do we know those who betray the people's interests?" Some demonstrators see the placard, are amused, and applaud. Nearby is another placard reading: "Long live justice!" Another reads: "Our cause is right! We have but one way. We are for union with Armenia!" Another: "Long live friendship among peoples!" The sequence finishes with a shot of the demonstrators shouting "Armenia" in Armenian.

"[Borovik, in studio] Nagorno-Karabakh is an old dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan. After October 1917, during the military intervention of Turkey and Germany, the dispute was carried on by bourgeois nationalists: Azerbaijani Musavatists and Armenian Dashnaks, bringing it to bloody clashes. One-fifth of the population in Karabakh perished in the fratricidal war of 1918-20. In 1920, the Musavatists carried out a bloodbath of the Armenian population in the town of Shushi. Then came the victory of the Soviet power, first in Azerbaijan, then in Armenia. The Azerbaijani Government immediately announced that Nagorno-Karabakh was being handed over to Armenia. Ninety-four percent of its population then was composed of Armenians. However, the situation concerning relations among nationalities and also international relations turned out to be more complex than had been thought at first, and perhaps because of this the decision was changed in 1923. Nagorno-Karabakh was left within the confines of Azerbaijan, but was made an autonomous oblast.

"The frontiers between our republics and oblasts are symbolic; they are firmly defined, but completely open, as should be the case in a single entity, a union of peoples. However, echoes of disputes and old pains apparently lived on in the people, now dying down, now flaring up, coming to the surface at different times and for different reasons. The nationalities question represents a special sphere of human relations and emotions play no small part in it."

The video shows people lighting candles in what appears to be a church and the monument erected to mark the memory of 1.5 million Armenians who lived on the territory of Turkey and were massacred in a matter of weeks in the spring of 1915 following a government order. Following documentary footage of Turkish killings, the video returns to the black-and-white footage of the demonstration, with the same date on the screen and the caption: "Stepanakert."

"[Borovik] But let us return to events in Karabakh. Thus, in the middle of February this year, demonstrations and meetings began in Stepanakert. Let us not be naive; they did not begin spontaneously. A long time before February people would visit the Karabakh homes, collecting Armenians' signatures for a demand to hand Nagorno-Karabakh over to Armenia. Such visits also were made in Armenia, but it was far from always that those who appended their signatures to the document were convinced that a change in the frontiers represented the only way to solve the problems. And problems did, of course, exist. Rather serious problems."

The video shows chanting demonstrators waving their hands in the air, a woman speaking through a bullhorn, placard bearing the slogan: "We cannot be deflected from our path; there is no turning back!"

"[S.V. Dadayan, dean of the history faculty of the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute—identified by screen caption] Our students study various courses of history—medieval and ancient history, the history of Asia, Africa, Europe, America, and the USSR—but unfortunately, we do not do a course of history of the Armenian people. We, our students, do the history of Azerbaijan, 148 hours of it, but not a single hour has been set aside for an Armenian course."

The video again shows a demonstration, with the date 25/02/88 superimposed at the lower left corner of the screen, then returns to the studio, where K.S. Aramyan, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences, identified by screen caption, says that "we" understood we were not wanted in Nagorno-Karabakh, hence the emotional response.

"[Borovik] The economy of Nagorno-Karabakh is developing no worse, and sometimes better, than some other regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia, but the oblast has quite a number of grievances about Baku's nationalities policy. The inhabitants of Nagorny-Karabakh feel that they are separated from Armenia's cultural life. They are unable to receive Yerevan television casts in Armenian as there are no relay transmitters. There is a shortage of Armenian textbooks in the schools. There is no palace of culture in Stepanakert. The town library is situated in a residential house.

"Some historians and writers stirred up polemics concerning the primogeniture of the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. This far-from-academic dispute spilled over onto the pages of popular books and papers, assuming at times dimensions that insulted the people's national feelings. All in all, these questions are, as they say, soluble. Moreover, they can be solved as a matter of course. Let us not forget, however, that the problems did not develop simply as social or economic ones, but also as problems of relations among nationalities.

"It has to be stated outright that some people tried to make use of these questions in order to fan up emotions around them. For what purpose? You cannot give an unequivocal reply here. Sometimes people would think, completely sincerely, that this was the only way to solve the problem; sometimes they would be motivated by the desire to satisfy their own ambitions and ambitious plans. Following the demonstrations in Stepanakert, there were demonstrations in Yerevan with the same slogans. They were numerous, well-organized, and evidently well-prepared."

Here, the video shows a demonstrating crowd with screen caption: "Yerevan."

"[Borovik] In response to the demonstrations in Stepanakert and Yerevan, there also were demonstrations in Baku. It was predominatly students taking part in them. They were protesting against handing Nagorno-Karabakh over to Armenia. Karabakh is Azerbaijani land, was the slogan. The students gathered ouside the Azerbaijan party Central Committee building. At that time, rumors were spreading already. In Baku, people were saying openly that in Karabakh and Armenia they were killing Azerbaijanis. Witnesses, in inverted commas, came to Armenia who had seen for themselves how Armenians were bing killed in Azerbaijan. The rumors were brought by people who were frightened by the events, but they were also brought by simple provocateurs."

Here the video shows demonstrators with the screen caption: "Baku."

"[Borovik] In Agdam, a rayon center with an Azerbaijaini population right next to the Nagorno-Karabakh border, young people gathered outside the party raykom building at that time. They demanded information: What is going on in Stepanakert? Is it true that Nagorno-Karabakh is being handed over to Armenia? Is it true that Azerbaijanis are being driven out? Now, when we took these shots at the end of March, everything was calm, but then the crowd was raging."

Here the video shows scenes from Agdam, people drinking tea at outdoor cafe.

"[Borovik] Sadykh Nabiyevich Murtuzayev, secretary of the Agdam party raykom, was trying to calm people down. Suddenly a man appeared on the platform: Middle-aged, healthy, sturdy. He said that he had just come from Stepanakert and had himself seen how the local

residents had brutally murdered the 12-year-old son of the local pharmacist, an Azerbaijani. The people on the square started shouting: to Stepanakert!

"The situation was saved by the raykom secretary. He said into the microphone: Here is my car; I will get into it now, as will the man who says he saw the murder of an Azerbaijani boy. Our militiamen will represent the people on the square. We will go to Stepanakert—it is only 20 minutes by car. If what he said is right, we will come back and I will be the first to tell you. If it is not, he will be arrested immediately. Let's go! Get in, he said to the unknown man. The latter retreated: No, I didn't see it with my own eyes. People told me about it. Get in the car nevertheless, we will go and find the people who told you. The man ran away. As became clear later, he turned out to be a recidivist burglar. I am telling you this as an example, but by no means always did it prove possible to reject rumors of a person who was simply frightened, or to expose a provocateur.

"Some groups of inhabitants still went from Agdam toward Stepanakert. One group was stopped by a party worker from Baku. He knelt before the people in the middle of the road, and the people halted and went back. Another group was stopped by a local mullah. A third group was stopped by a woman called Khuraman Abasova, a Hero of Socialist Labor and kolkhoz chairman. She threw a kerchief on the road—an ancient Azerbaijani custom, a sign a woman gives for men to stop their bloodshed or quarrelling.

"Yet another group, however, a crowd, it can be said, still got as far as the Armenian village of Askaryan, on the territory of Karabakh. There was a skirmish there."

Here the video shows a village.

"[Borovik] I want to introduce you, comrades, to USSR Deputy Procurator General and State Justice Counsellor First Class, Aleksandr Filippovich Katusev. He has been entrusted with procuracy supervision over the investigation being carried out in Sumgait and Nagorno-Karabakh in connection with the events to which our program is devoted. So far as we know, the first skirmish that resulted in human casualties was near the village of Askaryan, between Stepanakert and Agdam. Please tell us what you know about it, and under what circumstances the two young Azerbaijanis were killed there?

"[Katusev] Indeed, the first human casualties took place on 22 February in the village of Askaryan. As a result of that skirmish, two people from Agdam Rayon were killed. To say at the present time who died directly from bullet wounds and who directly committed murder is impossible, but we are taking all possible measures to clarify this question objectively and to make the legal decisions.

"[Borovik] Were there many wounded?

"[Katusev] In Nagorno-Karabakh altogether during the process of mass disturbances—and this is what we are calling them—there were about 50 people wounded.

"[Borovik] Do you mean during this skirmish, or altogether?

"[Katusev] No, during that skirmish there were about 10 wounded, but instances like that arose in other places, and there were about 50 wounded. Cars were burned."

"[Borovik] During those tense days, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev appealed to the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples."

Here the video shows vehicle with smashed windows, caption date 25/02/88; men with bandaged heads in hospital, windows smashed in building, burned-out vehicles. A crowd is shown listening to Gorbachev's Appeal over a loud-speaker, with screen caption reading: "Stepanakert" and the date "26/02/88" in the lower left corner.

"[Borovik] The Appeal, emotional and human, was transmitted on radio and printed in the local press. It made a great impression on people. The participants in the meetings started dispersing homeward. In Armenia, in Stepanakert and Agdam some enterprises that had ceased work during the disturbances started up again. However, the false rumor that Azerbajainis were being killed in Armenia and Karabakh continued to spread.

"But the press in those February days, unfortunately, did little to help to defuse the atmosphere. It was almost impossible to find understandable, reasonable material in the papers about the meetings in Yerevan, the demonstrations in Baku, or the complex situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and Agdam, people's feelings, or the reasons for them. But all we read and saw on television were numerous interviews about friendship between Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

"The silence was caused, of course, by good intentions. First, things had to be sorted out in order to provide correct information. The situation was so complicated that any incorrect step could cause an outburst of emotion and worsen the situation. That was true, incidentally. But it was also true that the absence of information not only did not improve the situation, but made it worse. We were used to silence being golden, but in the era of glasnost there is a different value on such gold; it falls. Incidentally, it was proved during the events in Kazakhstan and after the accident at Chernobyl and at other, so-to-speak irregular situations that the silence of the press eased the freedom of rumors and provocations. Probably at that time we needed honest and full information about the events, not senstation-seeking, but an objective account of what was going on and why it was going on, a categorical denial of rumors—categorically, without reservation, directly in the papers and on television.

"There was a need for cooperation of the mass media of both republics. Unfortunately, that did not happen. As a result, confidence in the press, radio, and television, and indeed in glasnost, was shaken. When the first report appeared about how there were not hundreds killed, but only two in a skirmish near Askaryan, the reaction to it for many people was the contrary. If they officially say there were two Azerbaijainis killed, that means that in fact there are many more. The situation threatened grave consequences. These were prevented in all the most dangerous areas of Azerbaijan. Where necessary, the party organizations quickly set up internationalist worker volunteer forces in order to prevent disturbances, but in Sumgait this did not prove possible. Sincere indignation, disorganization in life, religious feelings, nationalism, deliberate provocations, and hooligan banditry all merged together. Volunteer forces were not formed. The local militia did not provide a rebuff.

"On 27 February, disturbances started in the town To begin with, there were meetings at which eye-witnesses, in inverted commas, spoke who had come from Armenia and who had seen how Azerbaijanis were being killed there in tens and hundreds. Then came the smashing of windows, shop windows, the smashing up of kiosks, the overturning of cars. There were no human casualties on that day. If a worker internationalist volunteer force or troops had appeared in the town at that time, all would have been stopped. As we were told at the party gorkom, however, nobody had dreamed that what happened the next day could happen. Fire engines could have calmed down the crowd, but nobody had ever taught the firemen how to do it. The first fire engine was stoned by the bandits.

"On 28 February, the destruction of apartments and killing of people began. Groups of bandits, several dozen and sometimes 100 or 150-strong, with idlers and curious hangers-on, lead by ringleaders, broke into courtyards demanding to be told where Armenians lived. They went to those apartments. Azerbaijanis hid Armenians in their homes, took them away, saved them, often at the risk of their own lives. This was the rule, but there were also people who willingly showed where the apartments were, where to go. The last robberies and violence took place on 29 February. There were more than 200 wounded. Such was the picture."

Here the video shows a line of people advancing, young men running, an overturned truck, a smashed shop windows, a burned-out car, crockery lying smashed beside a display cabinet in an apartment, belongings ransacked, a rough cross painted on the wall of an apartment, with the camera homing in on a child's doll lying among debris on a floor.

"[Borovik] This shot was taken on 1 March. It was made by the staff of the Ministry of Internal Affairs from a helicopter. The seriously wounded had been sent to hospitals in Baku, but people were still asking themselves how this could have happened."

Here the video shows aerial shots of the city.

"[Borovik] People were seeking protection from soldiers. The first arrests were made."

Here the video shows people being escorted by soldiers with riot shields, a group of people being arrested, a man holding a knife and a screwdriver with voice in the background saying: "Those are his weapons."

"[Borovik] It is known that 32 people were killed, 26 persons of Armenian nationality, 5 Azerbaijanis, and one Lezgian—at least, that is what was reported at the start. Under what circumstances did these people and others die?

"[Katusev] Now, in fact, it really is the case that 32 people died, but of these...

"[Borovik, interrupting] At first they reported 31, then one more person died, right?

"[Katusev] A woman died in the hospital, making it 32. Of these, 26 were citizens of Armenian nationality, and 6 were Azerbaijanis.

"All the citizens of Armenian nationality, and these were both men and women—there were no young children, died as a result of violent actions. They became victims of violence and reprisals by people who took part in the mass disorders in Sumgait. So far as the six individuals of Azerbaijani nationality are concerned—as far as we have established at present there was no Lezgian—then these died as a result of being driven down by vehicles, in different circumstances. In particular, one of them died like this: A stone was thrown in the course of mass disorders at a bus driver; he clutched his eyes with his hand, the bus drove onto the pavement and plowed into an individual. The others also died underneath transport vehicles as order was being established in order to pacify this raging crowd."

The video then shows crowds of people laying flowers at a monument in Yerevan on 8 March to commemorate those who died in Sumgait. Borovik comments on the appropiateness of such a gesture. He continues by saying that someone was already spreading new rumors that a repeat of Sumgait was to be organized in Yerevan on 26 March and that it was for this reason that troops were sent there. There were no disturbances, in fact, but people remained uneasy.

"[Borovik] And here is another thing I would like to say. On more than a couple of occasions we heard the word: plot. In Baku, it was about a plot by the supporters of Greater Armenia, in Yerevan about a plot by the pan-Turkists. Have we really not already suffered enough from the suspicion of the thirties and forties so that at the end of the eighties we have to search for foes among brothers, to declare entire peoples to be counterrevolutionary." Borovik continues in this vein, asking whether

no responsibility is felt to children and whether children are really expected to show hostility to other children purely on the basis of each other's nationalities. The video shows peaceful Yerevan street scenes, small children peering into the camera.

In the next section of the documentary, Borovik meets teachers in one of the two Azerbaijani schools in Yerevan who voice their continuing fears at possible reprisals against them as a result of the events that took place.

Next, the video shows what is described as a hostel near Yerevan for people who arrived from Sumgait. They continue to relive the events they experienced. One woman, in particular, is seen and heard to describe how a mob broke into her apartment while she was in the bath and proceeded to wreck it, burning her collection of books she had built-up over a period of 28 years. A man speaking on the same subject recalls how much gratitude he feels toward the many Azerbaijanis who saved him. Others say that they will never forget the sort of things that happened in the course of 2-3 days in Sumgait. They plead not to be sent back there. Borovik comments that few people want to return and that it is difficult to persuade them but that people must return to allow wounds to heal.

Borovik asks whether glasnost is to blame for the distrubances.

"[Borovik] Some people say that glasnost is to blame. Let us be honest. Yes, glasnost has given people the opportunity to speak freely on any subject. Some people, it is true, understood this as an opportunity to shout, speculate, deceive, offend and provoke, and strive to attain their egotistical aims, even at the expense of the tragedies of others. Some people understand democratization to mean anything goes. They understand wrong. It is not glasnost that is to blame for the fact that some leaders forgot their internationalist duty. It is not glasnost that is to blame for the fact that some of them imagine that large placards bearing the words: Long live the friendship of the people of our country, which are set up throughout the city, mean that work to educate people about internationalism is done. It is not glasnost that is to blame for the fact that for 10 and 1/2 years the first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom was an individual who was profoundly indifferent to the fate of his oblast. Glasnost is not the reason why the first secretary and chairman of the Sumgait city soviet were not even registered in the city they managed; they lived in Baku. Glasnost merely revealed all this. We hope it will continue to reveal things. Without the healing of glasnost, wounds become purulent and sometimes turn into malignant tumors."

Borovik then says that not everything is totally good or totally bad in this world and proceeds to speak about a settlement some distance from Yerevan called Krasnoselsk, which is a rayon center populated by people of different nationalities all living happily together. The video shows shots of Krasnoselsk and local rayon officials being interviewed. The officials are Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Russian.

The female correspondent is then seen conducting street interviews, in which locals speak of the good relations among the different nationalities. A small passenger jet is shown taking off; according to Borovik it is headed for Stepanakert. All on board, he says, are going about their business. The female correspondent interviews some of the passengers on their journey and where they live. A woman says she is very happy living in Stepanakert and a young man says he is in favor of glasnost and justice. Borovik comments that at the end of March 1988, however, not everything was calm in the city. The video shows empty streets and a military patrol lined up across a thoroughfare.

Borovik remarks that the slogan on a factory gate invoking Glory to Labor evoked bitterness at that time because the majority of enterprises in the city were not working. The video shows more man-on-the-street interviews conducted among a milling crowd. A woman says that they are not working because they want to be reunited with Armenia. Another woman explains that she is not at work either, because like her colleagues, she wants the whole problem to be sorted out. The correspondent interviews other workers who are apparently continuing to work. One woman says that all those working are Azerbaijanis. When asked what the solution to the situation is or who is to blame, the woman shrugs her shoulders and a male worker blames it on the factory management.

Next, R.S. Kocharyan, identified by screen caption as secretary of the party committee of the silk combine to which all the workers belong, is interviewed.

"[Kocharyan] At the very height of the demonstrations and meetings that took place here over a few days, literally around the clock, vodka suddenly appeared in the shops. The republican trading organization received a consignment of vodka. This was unusual because for about a year there had been no vodka on sale in the town. Previously, the town had been declared a zone of sobriety and the appearance of vodka in the shops at the very height of the events..." He goes on: "We nipped this step in the bud in good time. The people saw this as a provocative step. Slogans appeared saying: Alcohol is a provocation. The vodka was sent back, and there was virtually no vodka on sale."

"[Borovik] The decision on the development of Nagorno-Karabakh makes it possible to resolve many problems mentioned by the people we spoke to. But we frequently heard: The decision does not solve the main question. However, the answer to the so-called main question can be sought by a different path, too. Perhaps it it is necessary to think about improving autonomous

relations in our country in general, about giving greater independence to autonomous oblasts and to autonomous republics in resolving all questions.

"Our USSR Supreme Soviet has a Chamber of Nationalities, but neither of the chambers had any permanent working commission on nationality matters. There are none in the republics or the oblasts, but such commissions are needed—even in rayons where there are people of different nationalities and ethnic groups. Perhaps the solution of the main question lies along this path. It can and must be resolved. All the grounds exist for this."

Borovik is then shown visiting a village near Agdam, where a labor veteran and an elderly peasant woman relate that Armenians and Azerbaijanis live in harmony and friendship. He comments: "Someone in Stepanakert told us that if the leaders of the two republics and those members of the intelligentsia who think of themselves as the spokesmen of the national spirit had found a common language, nothing would have happened and the people would not have taken the matter up. Perhaps this is too simple, but almost everyone to whom we quoted these words, both in Armenia and in Azerbaijan, smiled and nodded. It seems that this is so."

The program goes on to interview people on the streets of Baku who express revulsion at the recent events and their belief that Armenians and Azerbaijanis live together in friendship. They fail to understand what happened. Next a group of schoolchildren in Sumgait is shown. They talk about how some of their Armenian school friends failed to come to school recently.

Borovik says: "We have come to Sumgait exactly a month after those events. Life in the town is back to normal, but those 3 terrible days remain in everyone's memory." The video shows street scenes captioned: "1 April, Sumgait," broken window, list of residents with some names crudely crossed out.

"[Borovik] What about the role of the militia in Sumgait?

"[Katusev] Unfortunately, it can be said that the militia in Sumgait were not on top. In any event, resolute measures were not taken to prevent the mass disturbances. There are now signs that they did not go out to answer calls. For that reason, we made the decision in this instance not to take measures, to establish the reasons for this negative phenomenon, to start criminal proceedings. A special investigation group has been set up for this instance alone. It will be investigated and measures will be taken in accordance with the law.

"[Borovik] Tell me, how many have now been arrested for murder?

"[Katusev] For murder cases there are now under arrest—not only for murder, but also for taking part in mass disturbances, violence, rapes, burglaries, including murders—there are more than 80 people under arrest. Unfortunately, however, that figure is not final. We are now conducting investigations. We are exposing people who took direct part in the mass disturbances, people who incited those persons. We are exposing the organizers. All of them, of course, will bear the merited liability."

Borovik then invites Katusev to quote the law forbidding racial or nationalist hatred.

The scene shifts to a group of soldiers, with a screen caption reading: "Sumgait, 1 April." They are about to return home to Ryazan. They came to Sumgait on 29 February. They described to the interviewer what they saw on arrival: burned vehicles, burgled homes. They are asked how the disturbances could have broken out and required troops to sort them out.

"[Soldier] What I say is that the leadership of the town was not functioning, that is the first thing. The second thing is that the internal organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs here were also not fulfilling their functions. Then I think that there was an effect from the psychology that has built up among us people over a number of years of the stagnation: It's none of my business. Yet many Azerbaijanis hid Armenians in their apartments. We know that many Azerbaijanis—we have met them—hid whole families of several people, 7 and 10 people. So it wasn't everyone, but the principle: it's nothing to do with me, is a principle of life that has taken hold of people. They all thought that some uncle would come and instill order.

"[Borovik] The soldiers have gone back to their homes in Ryazan and the Armenians who left here after those 3 dreadful days are slowly starting to return to Sumgait."

An Armenian is then interviewed who witnessed the events in Sumgait, where he lives. He still cannot believe what he saw. He had left the city as a result, but soon returned. He was still amazed that it had been allowed to happen.

Over video of the Sumgait party gorkom, Borovik says: "The first secretary of the Sumgait party gorkom and the chairman of the town soviet were released from their posts. We are talking to the new chairman of the city executive committee.

"[R.F. Eminbeyli, chairman of the Sumgait city executive committee—identified by screen caption] There are people of various nationalities living in the city. The attitude to ward Armenians, Russians, and other nationalities was the same here, just as among all Azerbaijanis. When one thinks now about the events that took place here at the end of February, one cannot help feeling guilty toward Armenians when speaking to them.

"Sumgait, due to the nature of the development of its industry, was declared to be a city to which special contingents were sent—people who had been punished or imprisoned. They were found work by being sent to enterprises in our city. Our city was a young one which needed young people. A large number of people who had studied at our vocational-technical schools in the city came back here after completing their army service. A certain disproportion arose in the growth of the number of inhabitants and the amount of housing it was necessary to provide. This was another basic question. So there were social tensions in the city which were separate from the nationality factor, and they still remain very serious." The video shows shanties and a chemical works.

Borovik says: "These are the so-called shanties of which the newspapers have already written, housing built illegally in Sumgait. Perhaps this is where the violence arose? No, we have absolutely no grounds to insult people who have the misfortune to live here. I simply want to say that it is bad if the existence of such slums becomes known throughout the country only thanks to the misfortune that took place in the city.

"And here is something else. We know that chemical works cannot be hidden away in Sumgait or other towns. One cannot get rid of harmful enterprises; people need them. But those who build them should give at least a little thought to making them perhaps just a bit more attractive, so that a person walking along this road should not feel that he is walking alongside a prison wall."

In brief interviews, various leading Azerbaijani and Armenian scientists and cultural figures, including Vazgen I, catholicos of all Armenians, appeal for friendship between the two peoples.

Borovik concludes the program by saying: "The last thing we wanted was for anyone to take this broadcast as a sermon. We hardly have the right to do that. We set ourselves quite a different task. We wanted, if only slightly, to fill in the gap that formed in publicizing the events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh. We wanted to show people's feelings, their worries and hopes, their delusions and mistakes, and even their crimes. We considered that we were obliged to show the tragedy of Sumgait, as well. We must know the truth about everything, both about our great achievements and about our great problems, and about the serious breakdowns in our life. The cause of restructuring does not need soothing sedatives. Neither does it need either the panic of mourners or the thoughtless optimism of the hearty ones. What is needed is balanced and sober decisions, human ones; they must be human ones.

"There will always be problems: Old ones will resurface and there will also be new ones. We must not avoid them. We will seek the solution together, but seek solutions that do not lead to suffering. To cut off an organism that has been living for 70 years already as a single whole is clearly an excruciating pain for hundreds of thousands of people. People in Azerbaijan and Armenia await kind words; they await help from their writers, historians, and artists. After all, we all need words. People await good deeds and help from their leaders. We all also need that. Incidentally, republican peace committees could also take part in the good deeds, as could the Soviet Peace Committee. After all, it is not just outside the frontiers of our homeland that we are called on to defend peace, and our concern for feelings for internationalism should not be directed only at foreign peoples.

"What happened is yet another affirmation that unity is the most dear, the most sacred thing, and we must preserve it as our most precious possession. On that unity depends not only our fate, but also the fate of our children and our grandchildren. They are to travel the eternal road of life."

Azerbaijan Central Committee Decision Reported

NC260928 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has adopted a decision in connection with workers' letters and verbal appeals to the Central Committee plenum that was held to discuss the Central Committee Bureau report regarding guidance for the reconstruction effort in the republic.

The decision recalled that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee prepared for the plenum by asking all Communists and workers to explain their views on the work of the republic's party organization and Central Committee Bureau regarding guidance for the reconstruction effort in the republic. The decision proposed concrete measures aimed at consolidating party influence on the effort toward real progress in the economic, social, and cultural fields and added the following:

The Central Committee received over 1,200 letters and verbal appeals, containing over 5,000 proposals and critical views. The letters and verbal appeals upheld the party line drawn up by the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and confirmed the importance of efforts to further democratize social life and realize fundamental economic reforms.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee sincerely thanked the Communists and workers of the republic who actively participated in the plenum's preparation. Many of the workers' proposals and critical views were taken into account when the Central Committee Bureau report was prepared. The proposals and critical views were brought to the attention of the plenum participants. They were also considered during the plenum's decisionmaking process. These proposals and

critical views must be regarded as an important factor in determining practical steps to be taken in the main reconstruction effort in the future.

The decision advised the obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, State Planning Committee, and pertinent ministries and main administrations to take practical measures to realize the proposals and critical views contained in the workers' letters to the Central Committee.

The decision will be published in the press.

North Kazakhstan Obkom First Secretary Replaced

LD271520 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Petropavlovsk, 27 Apr (TASS)—A plenum of the North Kazakhstan party obkom has been held. It examined the tasks of the oblast party organization in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee decision on the obkom's unsatisfactory work in increasing food resources in light of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee June 1987 Plenum.

The plenum also examined an organizational matter. The plenum released V.T. Stepanov from his duties as first secretary of the North Kazakhstan party obkom in connection with his retirement.

S.A. Medvedev was elected first secretary of the North Kazakhstan party obkom. He had been working as chairman of the Dzhambul Oblispolkom.

G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the work of the plenum and made a speech.

Ukrainian Party on Restructuring in Lvov Oblast

AU251342 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Apr 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"—boldface as published]

[Excerpts] **The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined the organizational and political work carried out by Lvov Oblast party organizations to ensure that associations, enterprises, and organizations switch over to new management conditions.**

The adopted decision notes that the oblast's party organizations have worked to hasten the restructuring of economic management, to consolidate political methods of leadership, to cultivate modern thinking among cadres, and to raise the latter's responsibility for ensuring that associations, enterprises, and organizations work very effectively under conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing.

In the 2 years of the 5-year period, certain progress was made in overcoming the unfavorable state of affairs in some sectors of developing the economy and social sphere. The targets for raising the volumes of industrial production, for overall agricultural output, and for labor productivity in those sectors were exceeded. Contracting discipline is strengthening, and resource saving indexes are improving. The plans for putting houses, children's establishments, and hospitals into service are being overfulfilled, and foodstuffs supplies to the population are improving.

At the same time, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee noted that the obkom did not make full use of its political potential to influence economic restructuring. It also insufficiently prompted basic party organizations to ensure that associations and enterprises are well prepared for work under the new conditions, and that they actively apply the precepts of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Many enterprises have made inadequate use of economic levers and incentives to intensify production, have been restructuring wages and labor incentives in an unsatisfactory way, and have failed to work out programs for improving the financial situation. In preparing enterprises for the new economic conditions, there is still a great deal of formalism. Full use has not been made of workplace certifying and rationalizing, as well as of adopting a two- and three-shift work routine. The amount of idling equipment in the oblast's industries has increased; the plans for developing science and technology and for updating machines and equipment in production are not being fulfilled. Losses in working time have increased, and indexes for reducing manual labor have not been ensured. Very little has been done to disseminate internal economic accountability. No appreciable improvements have thus far been made in construction.

Labor collective councils still have not been properly engaged in accomplishing the tasks set for economic reform, an effective system for cadre retraining has not been worked out, and economic training, in many cases, is only formal in its character. The Oblispolkom and the Oblast Trade Unions Council have permitted serious omissions in the organization of reforms.

It was also noted that the work performed by associations and enterprises under the new conditions was significantly complicated by slips made by union- and republic-level organs in drafting plans and state orders for the current year, and in economic norm setting.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has obligated Lvov Obkom, gorkoms, raykoms, and basic party organizations to improve organizational and political work in restructuring economic management in strict conformity with the directives of the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee plenum, and with the precepts of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). [passage omitted]

The attention of party committees and basic party organizations was called to the need to hasten restructuring in ideological and mass political work under conditions of democratization and glasnost, and to subordinate this work to the tasks set for economic reform. The means and methods of party and ideological influence have to be used purposefully to boost by all means the role of labor collectives, to enhance the working people's production and social activity, and to consolidate the internationalist traditions of working together.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Holds Session 18 Apr

AU251330 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Apr 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Announcement on a Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] The Extraordinary 7th Session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation was held on 18 April and was preceded by a session of the Soviet of Elders, which examined the agenda and organization of the session proceedings.

Participating in the session proceedings were: V.V. Shcherbitskiy, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, V.A. Masol, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, and V.D. Kryuchkov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members; and Ye.V. Zaytsev, Culture Department first deputy chief in the CPSU Central Committee.

On behalf of the commission, Deputy P.K. Musiyenko, Credentials Commission chairman, delivered on behalf of the commission a report recognizing the credentials of newly elected deputies.

The following agenda was approved:

1) A general management scheme for the Ukrainian SSR national economy.

2) The formation of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet commission for patriotic and internationalist education, and for internationality relations.

3) Approval of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees.

A report on the first item on the agenda was delivered by deputy V.A. Masol, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers chairman.

The following deputies took the floor in the discussion: V.G. Malomuzh, Plan and Budget Commission chairman and Kiev Obkom second secretary; V.Yu. Pekhota, Lvov Gorispolkom chairman; Yu.L. Primachok, drift miner in the S.M. Kirov mine under the "Stakhanovugol" production association in Voroshilovgrad Oblast; N.N. Nivalov, Chernovtsy Obkom first secretary; Hero of Socialist Labor G.S. Bereza, mechanized link leader at the Dzerzhinskiy kolkhoz in Lutskiy Rayon, Volyn Oblast; V.G. Kucherenko, Donetsk Oblispolkom chairman; V.A. Zgurskiy, Kiev Gorispolkom chairman and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy; A.I. Goryaninov, general director of the Kremenchug association for the production of "Avtokraz" heavy trucks, in Poltava Oblast; A.V. Pecherov, Odessa Oblispolkom chairman; L.Yu. Skrynchuk, "Ukraina" kolkhoz chairman in Chemerovetskiy Rayon, Khmelnitskiy Oblast; N.V. Bagrov, Crimean Obkom second secretary; N.A. Panteleyev, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Labor; M.S. Shovikova, plasterers team leader in the "Otdelstroy" construction administration under the "Sumzhilstroy" trust; V.A. Sologub, Ukrainian Trade Unions Council chairman; M.G. Chumachenko, chairman of the Donetsk Scientific Center under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Industrial Economics Institute under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; N.G. Tokar, female teacher at Kirovskaya secondary school in Berislavskiy Rayon, Kherson Oblast, and member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.V. Migdeyev, Dnepropetrovsk Gorispolkom chairman; N.P Yanenko, diesel locomotive driver in the S.M. Kirov depot on Southern railroad, Kharkov Oblast; I.S. Goncharenko, chief agronomist at the "Shevchenkivskyy" sovkhoz in Tetiyevskiy Rayon, Kiev Oblast; and P.P. Volkov, Ukrainian SSR motor transport minister. Deputy V.A. Masol delivered a concluding speech. The republic's Supreme Soviet unanimously passed a decision on the general management scheme for the Ukrainian SSR national economy.

The speakers for the second item on the agenda were: Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretary; deputy G.M. Mushketik, board first secretary of the Ukrainian Writers Union; and V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and for Inter-Nationality Relations was elected. Deputy L.M. Kravchuk was elected chairman of the commission.

Deputy N.G. Khomenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, delivered a report on the approval of the decrees passed by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Laws and decisions approving the decrees were adopted.

The session examined the request made by Deputy V.A. Kharin, cutting machine operator at the Ilich mine under the "Stakhanovugol" production association, to stop the exploitation of the tar distilling and coking production units at the Stakhanov coking and chemical plant. The Supreme Soviet took into consideration the notification made by Deputy S.T. Pliskanovskiy, USSR first deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy, that the exploitation of the aforesaid units would be discontinued in 1990.

With this the extraordinary seventh session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet ended its proceedings.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Forms New Commission

AU260831 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Apr 88 p 3

["Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Decision Establishing the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education, and for Inter-Nationality Relations"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves to establish the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education, and for Inter-Nationality Relations.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The City of Kiev, 18 April 1988

Lukonin Notes Increased Nuclear Plant Safety

LD271555 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] The Soviet nuclear power minister has said that his industry has considerably increased the safety margin over the 2 years since the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident. The minister, Nikolay Lukonin, has announced that the reactors of all the stations of the same type as the Chernobyl plant have now changed their physical characteristics. He said these and other technical measures would prevent an accident, even if the impossible happened and the mistakes made at Chernobyl were repeated.

Nikolay Lukonin said the situation at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant was stable and the station had already produced a total of 6,500 million kilowatt-hours of energy this year. The workers' exposure to radiation last year was a mere one-third of the level established by the health service for nuclear power plant personnel.

Internal Affairs Official on Failings, Tasks

LD262338 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1440 on 25 April in its "Man and Law" program presents a 18-minute talk by Lieutenant General Anatoliy Vasilyevch Anikeyev, head of the Political Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

General Anikeyev begins his talk, which is entitled "On the Main Front," by stating: "Matters relating to the activity of the internal affairs organs are regarded by the party as a major integral part of statewide measures to strengthen and purify the moral atmosphere of the life of Soviet society. Particular stress is placed upon the role and significance of law, legality, and the effectiveness of the practice of maintaining law and order at the present responsible stage of restructuring. This is pointed out particularly forcibly in the decision of the CPSU Central Committee recently published in the press, on the state of the struggle against crime in the country and on additional measures to prevent law-breaking." Regarding establishment of a unified organizational structure for the political organs in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the general notes that raising the prestige of the people's militia to the level envisaged by Lenin is important. "Despite support from the relevant CPSU Central Committee departments and local party organs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs still has a very great deal to do to enhance the initiative and responsibility of personnel, to teach them to think, and to see the profound political meaning of their activities in defending the interests of the state and the legitimate rights of Soviet people. This is the only sure way of putting an end to the apathy which has become tenaciously rooted in a number of party organizations and subdivisions. It is to a great degree dependent upon the man in the militia uniform just how soon we can put an end to the thefts of state, public, and personal property which have recently been spreading, to cases of bribe-taking, to the savage acts of violence which have been committed in a number of places, and to the street crime which has been on the rise recently; an end must also be put to the increase of criminal manifestations by juveniles, recidivists, and people leading an anti-social, parasitic way of life." He continues that it is, therefore, the task of the political directorate to bring party-political work to the areas where internal affairs organs are operating and to help personnel feel their own responsibility for restructuring, and to have the skill to make the right decision.

Regarding shortcomings in internal affairs work, Anikeyev points out that the party requirement that Soviet laws be strictly observed is not universally observed. He says: "the most unsatisfactory situation has emerged in the Ministries of Internal Affairs of the Ukraine, Georgian, Turkmen, Estonian, Tajik and Moldavian SSR's. The number of staff brought to book for various unlawful actions is here considerably above the average in the country. Failing to enter crimes on the records, illegal prosecution, detention and arrest of citizens, unsubstantiated refusals to bring criminal proceedings, and falsification of evidence give rise to justifiable grievances on the part of the working people and engender mistrust of the militia."

According to Anikeyev, the complex tasks of political education to eliminate such failings make exacting demands on organization of ideological work with militia personnel. "In ideological education, we must decisively overcome inertia, and outmoded forms and methods. We must cut away everything that does not attain the goal: ostentatious enthusiasm, blathering, and, above all, the desire to approach with inertia and using old yardsticks all explanation and propagandizing of the new phenomena which have become established in official service," he says.

Anikeyev adds: "The political apparatuses, together with party organizations, must devote special attention to the patriotic and internationalist education of the personnel.

The events in Alma Ata, the Baltic Republics, Armenia, and Azerbaijan have shown that it is permissible to underestimate these issues. Individual militiamen failed in extreme situations to take active measures: They manifested national priorities to the detriment of nationwide, state priorities."

The internal affairs official takes the press to task for unfair criticism of militiamen. However, he stresses: "I should like to point out that my colleagues in the Political Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs will continue to take the strictest measures on any failure to respond promptly to critical comments in the press, decisively nip in the bud attempts to stifle criticism, and to evaluate acutely and in a principled manner any incidences of violation of legality, or disrespectful treatment of citizens. My colleagues will be uncompromising in their attitude to any petty bureaucrat, penpusher, and boor, to say nothing of those who violate the law." Meanwhile, he encourages the press to give coverage to exemplary militiamen and to more actively propagandize the idea of the inviolability of law and order.

Anikeyev cites some positive examples of work to eliminate shortcomings. The Moscow City party committee and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs collegium recently approved the experience of party organizations of militia section No 86 in heightening the responsibility of Communists for the state of public order in local housing estates. Party groups were set up, including local militiamen, criminal investigation officials, and staff of the juvenile affairs department, as a result of which both party and nonparty personnel considerably heightened their official and social activities. Crime prevention work was more active, as was the search for illegal distillers, those guilty of passport violations, and chronic alcoholics. Links with labor collectives and the public were strengthened. A number of party organizations in the internal affairs organs are operating in a similar way in Khabarovsk Kray, and in Voronezh And Sverdlovsk oblasts, he notes.

"Bearing in mind that half of crimes registered are committed by young people, it is very important indeed for us to heighten the organizational role of political departments, Komsomol organizations, and young members of staff, to prevent such crime," Anikeyev explains. He concludes by stressing the importance of rehabilitation. In accordance with the decisions of the February CPSU Central Committee plenum, effective measures will be taken to enhance the role of general and vocational education of convicted persons, he declares.

'Parcel-Bomb' Explodes at Leningrad Soccer Game

PM271407 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[I. Isayev report: "Was There an Explosion?"]

[Text] Yesterday morning the editorial bureau started getting phone calls asking what happened during the "Zenit" versus "Zhalgiris" game in Leningrad. Was it true that there was an explosion in the stand? Were there any casualties?

To clarify what happened we turned to A.A. Paramonov, senior secretary at the USSR Soccer Federation.

"An annoying incident did indeed take place at the 'Zenit' versus 'Zhalgiris' game, which was attended by a group of fans from Lithuania, as well as by Leningraders: Seventeen minutes before the final whistle a parcel-bomb went off. Fortunately no one was hurt."

Peace Committee Discusses Internationalism

PM271411 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "To Strengthen Internationalism and Struggle for Restructuring"]

[Text] The Soviet Peace Defense Committee [SPDC] Presidium Bureau has discussed questions of fostering Soviet internationalism in the activity of the SPDC and local peace defense committees.

Our people's achievements in developing Soviet internationalism rank with the highest assets of all the USSR's nations and ethnic groups, reads the statement adopted at the session. The SPDC considers one of its chief tasks to be work on international education and on strengthening friendship among the peoples of our motherland. The unbreakable unity and fraternity in our own multinational family are the reliable foundation of the Soviet people's nationwide struggle for a universal nuclear-free and nonviolent world and for stronger trust and mutual understanding among the peoples of different countries.

Underpinned by the people's growing civic awareness and their increased social activeness, the movement for peace in our country must be an effective channel for the democratic expression of the Soviet people's will and play an important role in enhancing the culture of interethnic contacts and in strengthening Soviet patriotism and internationalism and the moral and political unity of our socialist society.

The SPDC Presidium Bureau, the document states, fully supports the principal points in the article "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Acting," published in PRAVDA, and the party's course. It is the patriotic duty of every Soviet person to struggle for restructuring and against inertia, conservatism, and manifestations of nationalism.

Synagogue Leaders Accept Newspaper's Criticism

PM261409 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 88 p 3

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Reopening a Topic": "Violations of Community Rules Condemned"]

[Text] Shows ("Purimspiels") propagandizing ideas far removed from religion were staged on several occasions at the Marina Roshcha Synagogue over the Jewish religious festival of Purim. The article "The Play Dropped a Hint, or On Speculations With Believers' Feelings," carried by MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA on 29 March, reported this, together with some other aspects of the activity of the Jewish religious community in Marina Roshcha.

A response to the newspaper's article came from M. Ravich, chairman of the Marina Roshcha Synagogue Board, and from Genin, Simkin, and other members of the "Twenty" (which is the name given to the community's aktiv). They assessed the article as unquestionably correct, noting that the faithful from Marina Roshcha Synagogue, just like the whole Soviet people, support our state's domestic and peace-loving foreign policy. Individual nationalistic statements have been condemned, and such views are not shared by the congregation. The consumption of alcoholic beverages is henceforth banned in the synagogue, while attendance by congregation members in an unsober state and the instruction of children in the Torah are not allowed. It has been made clear to congregation member A. Lukatskiy: Any foreigners invited to the synagogue can engage only in the performance of religious rite functions.

The writers of the letter to the editorial office also report that, during the Purim festival, the synagogue had been visited by citizens who were not members of the congregation, in particular the show's author G. Rozenshteyn. Henceforth, neither he nor any other causal visitors will be given an opportunity to instruct children or propagandize the so-called "refusenik philosophy."

The synagogue congregation, the letter writers conclude, gave much attention to the newspaper's critical remarks and will bear them in mind in their daily work.

TASS Deputy Director General Views Glasnost

AU251449 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 23 Apr 88 p 6

[Text] NEUE AZ correspondent Luise Hahn talked in Rome with Anatoliy Krasnikov, deputy director general of the Soviet news agency TASS, on the implementation of glasnost:

Krasikov: I would like to see an end to the formal, superficial unanimity in the USSR. The variety of opinions always has to be openly taken into consideration. At the moment, these questions are dealt with in the Central Committee behind closed doors—that is to say, the debate takes place without journalists. Up to this day, Central Committee speeches have not been published either, but I hope that these affairs will be cleared up at the party congress in late June. The renewal of our society on a really democratic basis is enormously important to the party and the people. The people are to be informed about the viewpoints of the individual politicians and their lives, as well as their cultural background.

We must continue to fight for the renewal of society, against the opponents of perestroyka [Russian term used], with ideas and not by administrative methods as was often done in the past.

Sociological Survey Conducted on Restructuring

LD271246 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The growth of public activeness of Soviet people, which has manifested itself, is a result of the current perestroyka drive in the USSR. This is the opinion of the scholars of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. They have carried out a sociological survey in 11 regions of this country by polling more than 16,000 people.

"Two thirds of the pollees believe that they are now more actively participating in discussing the affairs among their work collectives, 78 per cent feel that drunkenness has considerably reduced recently, 63 per cent pointed out a decline in the violation of the labour discipline," a TASS correspondent was told by Dr. Sc. (Law) Valeriy Shchegortsev, who participates in the studies. "83 per cent of the pollees pointed out that they liked to work in conditions of greater openness and democratization".

At the same time the survey has shown that there is a gap between support for perestroyka in words and real participation in it. Thus, when faced with shortcomings on the job, only 30 per cent of the pollees have proved to take an active part in eliminating them. In such cases, 25 per cent of the workers prefer to notify the senior officials about that, four per cent send letters to the higher authorities, 24 per cent believe that the elimination of shortcomings is the business of the management, and nine per cent prefer to do nothing to eliminate them. Sociologists explain this passiveness by the frequent so far instances of suppression of criticism and lack of confidence that statements exposing the shortcomings will produce specific results.

To eradicate the negative phenomena and improve the moral atmosphere in the work collectives it is necessary to develop glasnost in every way possible and ensure more democracy in public life. This is the opinion of three quarters of the pollees.

Burlatskiy on Party Conference, Human Rights

AU271252 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Apr 88 p 2

[Excerpt] Vienna—In the opinion of Professor Burlatskiy, chairman of the Soviet Human Rights Commission, the CPSU conference planned for June is expected to give a decisive impetus to the further reform process, not only in the USSR but also in all East European countries. Burlatskiy said at a press conference on the sidelines of the Vienna CSCE meeting, that a "reorganization of political power and the political system" will also be especially dealt with in June.

While the CPSU's leading role established in the constitution will remain untouched, "democratization within the party" will be intensified, and other organizations should be able to be more active in the future, he said. Perestroyka [Russian term used] is a real chance for a democratization of Soviet society.

Regarding the human rights situation in the East European countries, Burlatskiy said: "Every country has its own experiences. We have given our allies so much bad advice in the past that we now hesitate to give them a piece of good advice." [passage omitted]

Negative, Positive Assessments of Perestroyka

The Negative Viewed

WA18200130 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by Viktor Polishchuk, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Labor's Heavy Burden"—boldface as published]

[Text] **Truth, as is known, is born in debate. A heated letter was received from philosopher Viktor Polishchuk in Tobolsk: Perestroyka is not producing the expected results and this is why....**

Kemerovo brigade leader Dmitriy Plotnikov, whom we acquainted with this letter, decidedly disagreed with his arguments... We invite [the reader] to hear both of them out and to express his opinion.

I do not want to think ahead to 5-6 years from now when it will be obvious that perestroyka has not produced the desired results and that it has suffered the same fate as the general education school reform. There are many to whom this is obvious even today. And the point is not only that goods are not more plentiful, that many products are still in very short supply, or that the queues have not become any shorter. While all these things are of course also indicators of perestroyka, it would be possible to ignore them by referring to the usual excuses: it is too early to judge, you can't do anything immediately, more time is needed. The important point is something else: there has been no basic change in the attitude toward work.

Of course, people continue to go to work regularly and to perform their work, but many of them view their craft exclusively as a meal ticket. And they work not because they like to work but simply because they see no other means of livelihood. In the extreme case, they have lost their interest in their work and do their utmost to avoid it.

Does a person act consciously in this way? Yes, entirely.

The Law on Individual Labor Activity took effect not so long ago. It seemed that this activity would gush forth as from a long restricted source. But nothing of the sort happened. And it was not only because people were no longer accustomed to working outside the collective (even though this must be taken into account). Something else was more important: individual activity presupposes more work but does not guarantee more of the good things in life. Why should one assume additional concerns?

Thus, if we do not fantasize and idealize, we will have to admit that a real person always relates to work both as a burden and a punishment. The awareness that he is working for himself essentially does not change anything.

Now, regarding the attitude toward labor in today's activity. Why do I believe that this attitude has not changed compared with the attitude of 10 or 20 years ago? But ask yourself why, strictly speaking, the attitude toward labor, including my own attitude, should be different today that it was, let us say, a few years ago? Has work itself changed? Has it ceased to be a means of livelihood? And if we think about moments of joy, creativity, and inspiration which nevertheless exist in my work, they also existed in the past. But are there more such moments? And did they come all of a sudden?

These are difficult questions and they cannot be ignored today, especially at a time when there is so much discussion of perestroyka. And we cannot merely answer them with a simple appeal to work more or better. Never in history has any state, official body, or entrepreneur urged people to do less and poorer work. And always, a person who was initially inspired by such appeals lost his faith in them when he became convinced that neither his labor itself nor the same person's attitude toward it had changed. Then centuries-old mechanisms of oversight and coercion began to act and we saw the growth of an enormous bureaucratic apparatus whose purpose was to compel man to work in general and to force man to work in the way this apparatus deemed essential. Naturally if perestroyka is based on such a model, its effectiveness will be zero. It will even have a minus sign. This is because every time a person in history has been deluded by appeals and promises, it has not been because he was excessively credulous. The generation I belong to entered conscious life believing that it would live under communism. But after about a decade, this belief was replaced by the knowledge that this belief was premature, that we are in reality living under developed socialism. Another

10 years later it turned out that our condition should be defined more precisely as the initial stage of such socialism. There is movement but if we judge by the change of reference points that occurred in the life of just one generation, this movement is more in the nature of reneging. If perestroyka does not justify the hopes that have been placed in it, then following the logic of such movement, the inescapable question arises: can the present stage in the life of our society be called socialist? Perhaps we should muster our courage and answer or at least attempt to answer this question today.

Of late, much has been said and written about the essential changes of socialism and its features. Mention is made of its planned nature and the absence of exploitation. But these values are not primarily socialistic because they are partially attainable outside socialism as well.

But the realization of universal employment in society still does not guarantee the absence of exploitation. After all, there are various kinds of employment. Today a certain part of society is engaged in something that is difficult to call work. The problem is not just the millions of managers and office workers that society could do without, but all of whom nevertheless receive their pay, i.e., exist entirely at the expense of the labor of others. We are also discussing those workers who perform their obligations without any interest, who do not understand the sense or the value of their activity.

Another example: several tens of thousands of people were engaged for several years working on a project to change the course of Siberian rivers. It is doubtful that any of them realized that their work was not only useful to society but that it was also harmful. Thus, their moral protest was suppressed and subordinated to the need to live and to obtain the means of livelihood. Finally, the question can also be posed as follows: every member of society at certain movements in his life and in certain of his actions has been in the same position as those planners, i.e., has been compelled to ignore the moral feeling and the awareness of the meaninglessness of his actions in the name of the necessity of living and obtaining the means of livelihood. This means that he is forced to be an exploiter, i.e., to live at the expense of the labor of others.

Socialism is distinguished not only by the absence of exploitation in general but by the fact that it is not obvious here, that the boundary between exploiters and the exploited does not divide society into individual classes as in each living antagonistic formation. This in turn means that the question of the presence or absence of exploitation in society is ultimately decided by the individual himself. But this is only possible under conditions of free labor, i.e., when neither labor itself nor a concrete form of labor are forced on the individual as the only means of livelihood.

Thus, free labor and the attitude of each corresponding to it are the measure of socialism and its highest value.

Restructuring has been the attempt to realize it in practice, i.e., an attempt to change the attitude toward labor, to make this attitude correspond to the given measure. Indeed, in preceding years the value of labor steadily declined which resulted in the increase in the number of measures and organizations called upon not so much to normalize attitudes toward labor as to organize labor itself and to ensure oversight over its effectiveness. This led to a shift in accents and ideology from the value of labor as such to its productiveness, to its materially expressed indicators. The concept of communist labor, for example, has practically disappeared from the lexicon of official propaganda. The socialist principle—from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor—has been deformed. The first part of this principle has in actuality lost its meaning. The fact of man's participation in social production and the necessity of his participation in it have overshadowed the social value of both employment and participation. This has been promoted and strengthened by propagandistic slogans of the type: those who work well also live well.

The way things turned out, it was labor itself rather than miscalculations in its organization or planning that became the obstacle. It is an illusion to place our hopes in the latter. To place our hopes in the organization and planning of labor is one and the same technocratic tendency that perestroyka was to halt and refract. The reverse happened: technocratic thinking and its agents subordinated the restructuring of society to a more modest, less radical goal: the restructuring of economic management. And this means that bureaucracy—technocracy is merely its vestment in the age of the the scientific-technological revolution—has gained the upper hand over perestroyka.

What is the answer? The answer lies in the liberation of labor, in eliminating the constitutionally reinforced contradiction between the right to work and the obligation to work. We must eliminate labor as an **obligation** while at the same time naturally preserving the **right** to work. Of course, the result of this will be that part of society will cease working where it works at present. But this is not because it does not wish to work at all but because its present work does not bring it either joy or sufficient rewards. People will try and will succeed in finding work in accordance with their ability. Naturally, there will also be people—initially they will number in the millions upon millions—who will refuse to engage in anything. Their reasons for not participating in the national economy will range from direct reluctance to elementary inability. But if today these miilions create the appearance of labor and receive unearned money, it is more advantageous and useful for society to tolerate their lack of participation in production while, however, continuing to give them a certain share of material goods. Incidentally, this corresponds to Marx's prevision of the

possibility that the working people would be able to redeem their freedom from exploiters. One would think that such redemption is not only possible but is also necessary. And if it did not happen 70 years ago, it must be done today.

What will this segment of society live on if it refuses to work at state enterprises or on collective farms? As a co-owner and owner of public means of production, every member of socialist society has the right to a share of these assets. Consequently, society must guarantee each of its members a certain minimum amount of material assets free of charge. At the same time, each member retains the right to increase this basic minimum through his personal labor. But this labor must be voluntary.

There is no need to fear that this will result in a stratum of unemployed members of society. This will not be forced unemployment that typifies an antagonistic society. This will be a stratum of people who have not yet found their place in social production or who have found themselves out of this production. Let them search. There is no need to hurry them or to place a person before the strict necessity of justifying his existence at all costs. In addition, there are quite a large number of people in society who can be classified as openly or secretly unemployed. The elimination of the necessity of evasion and skulking, of giving the appearance of working will only make society stronger. It will at any rate not count on those who do not want to work and will not accept their presence for the fulfillment of obligations. After all, a real worker will ultimately perform the obligations that are not performed by someone. The burden of sabotage, hidden unemployment, and actual parasitism lies on him and not on the state or society as a whole.

It is questionable that the number of members of society, who for certain reasons refuse to work in the national economy, will be significant. It will hardly be greater than the three percent that are recognized today by official statistics. The remaining tens of millions, however, will find themselves in social production. There will be the redistribution of employment.

I foresee objections: The abolition of the obligation to work and the guaranteed minimum for each member of society, at least initially, will result in a certain degree of spontaneity and lack of order in the utilization of labor all throughout society. Spontaneity is truly inevitable. However, even today there is a considerable amount of spontaneity and it is doubtful that it will diminish in the future. However, it can be assumed that the voluntary performance of obligations, i.e., free labor, will compensate the shortcomings resulting from spontaneity, and perhaps reduce them to zero. In any case, society will have the moral right to demand specifically the effective participation of everyone in social production. Just as it will have the moral right to strip anyone whosoever of the possibility of participating in social production in general since this does not deprive anyone of the means of livelihood.

The proposed measures may seen absurd. But it must also be remembered that there are many who also regard perestroyka as an absurdity. And unless we are sufficiently bold and courageous at least in our thinking, then in 5-6 years we will have to sadly admit that no one can help us in our affairs.

The Positive Assessed

WA18200130 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by Dmitriy Plotnikov, Hero of Socialist Labor, brigade leader, Kemerovkhimstroy Trust: "The Idleness of Bravery"—italics as published]

[Text] The author of the letter does not have any doubt that restructuring is not bringing about the "desired results," i.e., that it is failing. And the point, Polishchuk writes, is not that our [store] counters will stay the same. It is something far worse—there will be no change whatsoever in people's thinking, in their attitude toward labor. Yesterday it would have seemed impossible to print such a letter but today, after mulling it over, I think: why not if a person is of such a mind? He thinks a certain way, I think another, so let us debate.

You will agree, recalling the past period of "stagnation," that things are now much cleaner, that we are now more honest with ourselves! There is no more double counting with our conscience. Everything is unified and has a people and party orientation.

To me personally, these in themselves are the "expected results," albeit initial, modest results, but nevertheless results that are unquestionably linked to perestroyka. Of course we would like to see an abundance of food and goods, to see an end to the queues, to build houses as good as or better than those I saw in the West, and to see better tape recorders and cars than those made in Japan. We would like to see an end to the queues in front of the wine shops, as well as to these shops and their contents. These results have not yet been forthcoming. Nor will they be forthcoming tomorrow. All this depends on our labor—and on this point I agree with you—on our attitude toward work.

It is indeed true that not everyone likes to work and that there are many who work just for their pay and who try not to work any harder than they have to. But you talk as if everyone were like that. "Man" sounds like "mankind." Reread [what you wrote]: It is not surprising that unless there is a dire need, man never works harder voluntarily, that under the conditions of normal everyday life he always tries to avoid working as a means of

livelihood. This is even clearly and unequivocally expressed in Marxism: man's freedom lies on the other side of material production.

I must confess that the reference to Marx initially confused me. I will not tell the lie that I sat down and read *Capital* in its entirety. Instead I asked a knowledgeable person to help me find these words. I found them. Marx wrote that the kingdom of freedom truly begins only where there is an end to work that is dictated by need and external expedience. Consequently, in the nature of things, it lies on the other side of the sphere of material production itself. As I was writing out this quotation, I thought to myself that if it stopped on the word "work," V. Polishchuk would be right: work is on the other side. But it goes on to say: "...dictated by need and external expedience!" That is an entirely different matter. Does our pay only allow us to have something to eat and drink and to clothe ourselves? Academicians are not the only ones who drive about in their own cars. Blue-collar workers constitute the majority of the tourists traveling to foreign countries. The "actual living person," according to V. Polishchuk, "has always regarded work as a burden." But why then do I and the other members of my brigade not find work boring? Why do we not dread going to work? I think that even if work is a burden (our work is occasionally extremely difficult), it is a necessary burden that we are going to have to deal with if we are going to get anywhere. And since this is the case, we do not find work oppressive. Our brigade for the most part formed long, long ago. There are few young people in our brigade. But from time to time, we see lads who have no desire to work. And how can it be otherwise if all they think about initially is to get all they can for the least work. "The awareness that a person works for himself also does not essentially alter anything," the author adds. He probably did not use the right word. Perhaps the very fact that a person who lives in socialist society mandatorily works for that society and hence for himself as well; this fact itself probably does not change his attitude toward work if he is not consciously aware of it. Awareness, on the other hand, specifically does make a change. And therefore a socialist person (not merely one who lives under socialism but a person who is consciously socialist) is free in his work. But what is "freedom?" Does it mean doing what I want? One might think so. A drunkard does what he wants—he drinks. But is he really free? The alcohol that grips him is worse than any jailer! And what about a parasite? He is in bondage worse than slavery because he has to swindle, steal, and collect empty bottles in order to get food, drink and clothing. This is now the fourth decade that I have been going to the building site every day. I do so voluntarily and with a sense of awareness. I see great meaning in this—that I am a free man. And you, too, Comrade Polishchuk, are free. You wrote this article and hence you worked hard. Why did you? I do not think it had anything to do with pay. You are probably concerned over the fate of perestroyka, our common cause, and this concern merits respect. But if you yourself are capable of such practically unselfish work, why do you deny the possibility that other, "actual living people" are also capable of this? When you were thinking about and writing your article, did you regard this work as a burden?

Of course, there are more "moments of joy, creativity and inspiration" in a scientist's work than, let us say, in the work of a builder. But there are different ways of working even at the construction site. One can blindly and indifferently "roll the round and drag the plane." You can do what the boss tells you to do and if he does not tell you to do something you can sit around smoking and dozing. We have complex situations that are neither joyful nor creative when we don't know what to do or how to do it. We could call the engineer to figure it out. After all, that is what he gets paid for. But then no one has forbidden us to think. But when the boys and I find the answer, that is also a joy! What is also of no little importance, it also means earnings.

I agree that appeals and coercion by the bureaucratic apparatus do not produce the desired result. "Understandably," the article states, "if perestroyka continues in the same way, its effectiveness will be zero." But does the author not see what is going on in production? Perestroyka is going in an entirely different direction. If I as a brigade leader were to tell people every day: "Think and work creatively. Don't sit around idle," nothing would come from such "education." But we have a powerful educator: economics. We together with the brigade council dispose over means. Someone may object: the ruble drives us but does not educate us. It is true that it is a driving force. Who wants to be left without earnings? At the building site, there is still much that is not as it should be: This thing is missing or that thing is missing. The forms are ready but the the concrete is late. Even in such a case, we do not sit around idle. We find work to do so that the end result upon which our pay depends would be larger. But take my word for it, you are not going to be thinking every second about the ruble! It is simply that work gradually becomes a habit. So what is it that is most instrumental in building character: appeals and coercion or the ruble? This question becomes all the more important with the transition from the brigade contract to full cost accounting and self-financing. This is the direction perestroyka is taking. Of course, it is strange that all this must be explained to a man of science....

Incidentally, I read V. Polishchuk's letter to the brigade collective. They initially listened with interest. Its dramatic beginning immediately won their attention. They laughed at the comparison with the school reform which indeed bogged down from the very beginning. But somewhere in the middle, the men began expressing their indignation. What was he proposing: the legalization of parasitism? It must be said that our "professional" idlers are worse than alcoholics because they also feel this way. Somewhat later came the response: "This means that someone will try to find himself, will think his thoughts in restaurants, and I am supposed to pay his way!" They

finally agreed that the author is "not one of us," that he is providing grist for someone else's mill. We are firmly habituated to the idea that the correct opinion must necessarily be unanimous, that only someone who is "not one of us" could object.

The author writes that he also belongs to a generation that entered conscious life with the belief that he would live under communism. I am of an older age. I very well understand your disappointment, Comrade Polishchuk: you had one foot in communism, later it turned out you were in developed socialism, and now you are at the beginning of perestroyka. You are so disappointed that you advise "gathering the courage" to admit that this is not socialism at all! I cannot in any way agree with this. Nor can I agree with the statement "in the preceding years, the value of labor has steadily declined." There may have been a decline in its effectiveness. But I have always felt the value of my labor. It is probably easier for me to be an optimist in this sense than it is for you. Even under Stalin, under Khrushchev, even during the period of "stagnation"—during all those years, I built and continue to build dwelling houses, sociocultural and consumer service facilities, and a gigantic chemical combine. I have worked since my earliest hungry childhood, since the liberation of our Vitebsk fromn the fascist. I arrived in the Kuzbass after the army and became a builder. But do not think that this is boasting or "worker pride" (it consists in something else). We built houses. Perhaps they lacked some of the conveniences but people moved into them from barracks and cellars. We are now building other, better houses. The chemical combine (now the Azot Production Association) poisons the air and water, but at that time there were no other designs. We are now building purification facilities.

It does not follow from all this that we workers are indifferent to what happens in the nation. We know that we are making a contribution. Our life has been and continues to be difficult. But we must "gather courage," as V. Polishchuk writes, not in order to call into question everything that has been done in the country, but to make an honest assessment of our situation and to openly admit that there have been errors and flaws in this area. This is what was done at the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum and at the 27th party congress. This not only suggested the road to the future but also strengthened our faith in socialism. Above all, no matter what comes or goes, we have not departed from the main thing. We are more and more confidently following the true road. I am convinced.

But now comes V. Polishchuk who to my way of thinking proposes another road that diverges from socialism. Only in this way do I understand his proposal to "'liberate' labor," which in reality means liberation from labor. Anyone who does not want to work should not have to work because the effectiveness of the work of many people is low anyway and they do not like to work. Even I do not know what such a strange judgment can be compared with. Does it mean that if we have a bad harvest, we shouldn't sow any more crops? Even if every person lived alone on an island, he would give this obligation to himself, otherwise he would simply not survive and his only remaining "freedom" would be to perish. It is, of course, possible to survive in society. But only at the expense of others. And what becomes of justice in such a case? How is one person better than another? Only through labor, intelligence and talent? But if the most talented person does nothing, neither he personally nor society gains from his abilities. This is why the words "who does not work, neither shall he eat" became one of the basic laws of socialist society. To be sure, this is not entirely observed—V. Polishchuk also writes about this in his article. But if the law is invariably observed in full measure by everyone, it is totally unnecessary.

I do not believe that this letter will leave even scientists indifferent. I think that they will also find reasons for objecting to the author's statements. Honestly speaking, I find it difficult to dispute some of his ideas, especially the idea of the possibility of exploitation under socialism. V. Polishchuk writes that if a person for certain reasons engages in useless work, he is already an exploiter because he actually lives at the expense of others. I am not certain about this. The article also says: let each person do what he wants as long as his activity is not violent or destructive. But what if it is simply useless to society? Does this mean that the author, following his logic, proposes expanding the volume of exploitation? This is also the consequence of his proposal to provide everyone who does not want to work with a "certain minimum amount of material goods." Comrade Polishchuk, come outside of your own four walls! Go to a factory, a construction site, or a kolkhoz and suggest this to the workers and see what their answer is. Through our labor we support many who stand, speaking in already familiar words, "on the other side of the sphere of material production proper": teachers, physicians, managers, and office workers (even though, to be sure, in management it is necessary to establish order so that everyone would be engaged in real work). For the sake of good, naturally, and science cannot make any progress without it! And even if scientists sometimes perform "useless work"—errors are inevitable—we pay for the errors with our labor! But who will agree to feed a deliberate idler? Look at how many funds there are today: the peace fund, the children's fund, the culture fund, and so forth. Our voluntary contributions go into these funds. But try to establish a fund for assisting social scourges and parasites, as you propose. I do not think that even a tiny cup would be filled.

What you propose is even worse. You are not talking about voluntary contributions but about mandatory material support for those who do not want to work. You also suggest that everyone is the co-owner of the means of production and of public property. Yes, everyone is a co-owner but only with the condition that they work because it is written in the Constitution that there is the

obligation to work. However, property cannot be common while labor is the personal business of everyone. The working people, but not parasites, can be recognized as co-owners; socialism is not only common ownership of the means of production but is also the law "who does not work, neither shall he eat." If we repeal the one, we must also repeal the other! You doubt the success of perestroyka? Many today are concerned lest the matter be reduced to one more "cosmetic repair" of our life so long as perestroyka is really revolutionary! But it appears that you do not understand, do not see its real goals and tasks, that you are instead advancing other goals and tasks of your own. In such a case, they will, to be sure, not bring the "results you expected." They will not and cannot. Whether you wish it or not, your proposals are in fact "on the other side of" perestroyka.

New History Series To Fill in 'Blank Pages'

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[Text] Several research centers in the Soviet Union have started preparing a 10-volume history of the war against Nazism of 1941-1945. The authors are to use the concept of new thinking, openness, and democratization to analyze military, political, economic, and ideological processes in the world before and during the war. A detailed account of the USSR's decisive contribution to the defeat of Nazism will be given. Nazi Germany lost the bulk of its armed forces, 600 divisions, on the Soviet front.

Besides, the future 10-volume history of the past war is expected to fill in a number of what have been described as blank pages, those episodes and problems that have been ignored until now.

Shevtsova Urges Pluralism, Political Reform

PM270828 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 88 p 10

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences L. Shevtsova under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Guarantees of People's Power"]

[Text] It is not easy to discard stereotypes in the evaluation of political mechanisms. The habit of regarding power, the state, not as an institution at the service of the individual and society but as something to be feared, dies hard.

In what way is the situation we are experiencing revolutionary? For one thing, there is the recognition that the command-and-administer system of power has had its day, although it still tries to dictate its own rules of the game. This, of course, weighs heavily on the restructuring, although there is hope of casting it aside. The more difficult thing is this: After relieving ourselves of that weight, where do we go from there? All of us, some intuitively, some consciously, feel the need for new forms of political life. To guard against differences of interpretation, let me stress at once: I am not talking about a change of system, but about a renewal of its sociopolitical, organizational foundations—in other words, a fresh concept of power that meets current demands.

First of all, it is clearly necessary to rid ourselves of the conviction that we have political forms which only have to be adjusted a little, polished a little, and corrected a little—and society can rely on them confidently in the course of restructuring. The following dogma should also be discarded: The stability of the system relies on the immutability of political forms. After all, the old structures retard economic reform by lowering and suppressing social vitality. It was no accident that at the recent February (1988) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev mentioned as one of the most pressing tasks the need for a reform of society's political system.

It is easy to criticize and reject, many people will say. But what do you suggest we do?

I believe we should look at the experience of other socialist countries. For a long time, our country was like an icebreaker forging a path in an unknown icy ocean. Behind it came a caravan of ships repeating all the zigzags of the flagship. But suddenly they emerged into clear water and could, or so it seemed, "uncouple themselves" from their guide. And what happened? For a long time, the ships continued to follow the leader blindly all the same—whether from fear of losing their way, or simply from habit. The moment eventually came when it became clear that free navigation did not entail the risk of shipwreck, and in the end, the socialist countries began, one after another, to create their own models of development.

Many of them embarked on a path of political reforms. Some saw this as offering the possibility of averting social crises. For others, the renewal of power was the consequence of economic reforms which were being suffocated in the straitjacket of the old political ideas. This path was proclaimed, at different times, by Bulgaria, Hungary, China, Poland, and Yugoslavia.... Here is a summary of the arguments put forward by the fraternal parties in favor of a restructuring of power: The existing political system was born during the years of revolutionary transformations. Today it does not accord with the peaceful conditions of socialism's development and the requirements of commodity-money relations. Moreover, some of its components are breeding grounds for bureaucracy and deformations. These reproduce the people who hamper innovation.

The nature of political reforms under socialism is always the same: to hand over a greater proportion of power and management functions to society, to make the masses the chief protagonist, and to ensure effective control of

political organs by the people. In this we see the main instrument against bureaucracy, self-seeking personal and group interests, and the usurpation of power.

Attempts at such reforms have been made more than once (remember, for instance, Khrushchev's times), but they all became bogged down or perished under the weight of bureaucracy. It would, however, be simplistic to see the cause of the failure of these attempts solely in the reluctance of a powerful stratum of managers to give ground. Is society always ready to take on additional political responsibility? Not always. This, too, is a safeguard for bureaucracy. There is a different trend today. The democratization process that has begun is changing public awareness; people are gaining confidence in their own resources. Ordinary people are ready to exercise power in the people's interests. It all comes down to a simple dilemma: Either society finds the strength to establish self-management principles, or we will remain fated to accuse and repent, repent and accuse.

All-round democratization—how can it be achieved? Ask me an easier one. But to delay in answering this question is to give the bureaucrats time once again to gather their forces and prepare an all-around defense. Even without that, the real progress in democratization is not great. We are only setting modest goals: to extend the masses' participation in discussing or adopting decisions that have already been prepared (and not by them, but by professionals). This interpretation is limited and narrow, and a distrust in the working people's potential can be glimpsed behind it. Nor can any particular progress be perceived in the democratization of relations within public organizations. Political activeness is currently developing usually aside from, and sometimes in spite of, accepted norms and prescriptions, outside the official structures.

In a word, there is an urgent need to renew both the concept of democracy and the mechanisms that govern it. Democracy is the quest for alternatives; it is freedom of choice. Here again, the dilemma is simple: either freedom of choice, or a monopoly in obtaining information and preparing and evaluating decisions. The solution could be the submission of numerous different versions of decisions and their open discussion. Any public organization and any citizen should have the right to submit its draft proposal on any question of state life.

Such experience already exists. In Hungary and Poland, for instance, recommendations are put forward by groups of independent experts within the framework of people's fronts and public organizations, to act as alternatives to the proposals of government organs. This open form of debate promotes the quest for the optimum state decisions; the fact that discussion takes place publicly, with the participation of the mass media, confirms the far from formal participation of public opinion in the decisions adopted. And the top organs of power do not become arrogant and attempt to show that the "dilettantes" have no right to interfere in their affairs.

At one time, we considered the mass approach to be our strong point. Even now it often appears that democracy must necessarily involve a large number of people, that everyone should take part in measures, "acting as one." But here we try to disregard the fact that the mass approach engenders indifference and creates the possibility of fooling individuals and leveling them down. I think the time for action has come for individual social groups, too, to create conditions ensuring that each of them has the opportunity to speak out and be heard.

The problem of the individual and of ensuring his safety is also becoming increasingly acute. Only fearless people can carry out major, profound reforms in political life. But how can fearlessness exist, if the citizen is not sure that he will not be persecuted for openly expressing his opinion? It is not only a question of militia or judicial prosecution, but even of ordinary dismissal for criticism, which is, alas, not as rare as all that. The political mechanism that has hitherto existed is not always effective here. That is why the socialist countries have begun to seek new forms of defending the citizen's interests, first and foremost, against encroachments by bureaucratic forces. In Poland and Yugoslavia, the institution of "public defenders" has been set up. Let me recall that a law has come into force in our country, too, aimed at protecting the individual against departmental zeal. But how can it be made to work? At the moment, this question is hanging in the air. And that being so, guarantees of the individual's safety are also vague.

Democratism is also determined by the work of the representative system. In our country, this system has largely lost the role of organ of people's power. In the localities, the soviets are not infrequently appendages, so to speak, of the party bodies and their own ispolkom apparatus. Therefore, giving power back to the soviets is by no means a demagogic slogan but an urgent demand of the time.

Since we are talking about the soviets, we cannot ignore the electoral system. This, too, needs reform. Experiments during the last elections showed, as participants in the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA roundtable rightly pointed out, that it is not only a question of how many candidates to nominate but also of how to nominate them. It is more important to create conditions for competition between the candidates and their programs. Organizations, collectives, and individual citizens should have the right of free, unrestricted nomination of candidates. Candidates, in turn, should have equal rights to propagandize and defend their programs. A number of fraternal countries are embarking on this path. Thus, at the recent elections in Hungary, about one-third of the candidates nominated spontaneously became deputies of the National Assembly.

An organ of power cannot be influential if its role is that of a beggar with hand outstretched. It must have financial and economic independence. What could we usefully learn from other countries in this respect? As yet,

here, too, there is only endeavor. Organs of power have been granted the right to create their own enterprises and use local loans. Local industry is handed over to them, and their potential for coordinating the activity of enterprises under central jurisdiction is increasing. That is, internal sources of finance are being extended, but at the same time the allocation of resources from general funds is being reduced.

Ideally, elected organs should be the place where various proposals and opinions would meet, and the best substantiated, most socially significant program would prevail. As yet the sessions of many soviets are routine events to approve this or that action by the ispolkom (not infrequently even if it is contrary to the population's interests). It is time to establish the clear relationship that LITERATURNAYA GAZETA wrote of 2 years ago: The deputy is the servant of the people, and the ispolkom is the servant of the deputy. It is high time representative power was separated from executive and judicial power. Democratic thought has yet to find another means of preventing the dominance of administrative and executive organs.

Thus, our goal is a self-managing society. But what self-management is, is also not very clear. Some people try to show that it is the same as democracy. Others reduce self-management to the activity of the state or public organizations. All kinds of questions arise. Does not this block the path to the transfer of power to the working people themselves? To what extent will we ourselves, without the help of professionals, be able to govern? Do we have the skill, the knowledge? What should remain within the competence of the apparatus, and what should be decided by the masses? How can democracy be combined with centralism?

The introduction of self-management requires the restructuring of all social mechanisms. Here is one problem that has already arisen: How do we delimit the functions of trade unions and self-management organs? After all, if a collective becomes the master of the enterprise, against whom should the trade union defend it? At the same time, if the need for that exists, it means there is no real self-management.

Let us not construct illusions. Self-management has its contradictions. It can be bureaucratized; it can degenerate into self-will. The collective decision is not always the optimum one; it can be conservative. It is worth listening to the fears expressed by the Hungarians and Poles that the expansion of self-management threatens to intensify consumerism. Finally, how can self-management be combined with the quest for economic efficiency? This is not only a complex problem; it is a crucial one. As yet no country, to my knowledge, has found an acceptable solution. Society, every one of us, still has to learn autonomy, and here errors are inevitable. But you can only learn to swim by going into the water.

What we hoped for, and nevertheless did not expect, even in our wildest dreams, is pluralism. It has finally been acknowledged that we have the right to that, too. We have acquired rights, along with a whole ocean of problems. For instance, how do we orient ourselves among the diversity of opinions, views, and ideas that the press is full of? What is pluralism in the context of a one-party system?

Much here depends on whether we manage to give up the illusion that socialist development can be free from conflict. After all, pluralism is not only the clash of ideas but also of the people who put forward those ideas. Yes, a clash can often lead to conflict. That is frightening. But surely "unanimous approval" is worse?

To acknowledge pluralism means to widen civic opportunities for the minority too, that is, for people with a non-Marxist outlook and religious believers. Nor must it be forgotten that not everyone who wants to be involved in politics can join the ranks of the Communist Party. Thought should be given in general to the question: Do we have sufficient organizational opportunities for creative activity, for the benefit of socialism, by nonparty people?

In the main, there is a perceptible need in society for free, informal associations, movements, and special-interest clubs. These may spring up, die out, compete with one another. In the fraternal countries, they are already thinking about a mechanism to govern their status. In our country, too, the problem of "incorporating" informal groups in our life has arisen.

The dynamic of social reforms is largely determined by the party. But if the renewal of socialism is to become irreversible, the party itself must also be restructured.

How do I see the essence of the innovations? First and foremost, the broad democratization of intraparty relations and intensification of control by the party grass roots over the activity of the leadership. The question naturally arises: By what means? I know that in the fraternal countries, it is proposed to change the procedure for the election of leadership organs, to make senior officials of the Central Committee accountable to the party organizations of enterprises, to hold monthly local reports by leadership figures.... But however things stand there, many people believe that the level of democratism so far achieved is insufficient. There should be more dialectics in the activity of party committees and organizations, that activity should reflect social contradictions and struggle.

The very position of the ruling party creates a danger of being cut off from the masses and generates the desire to dictate. It is, therefore, worth thinking about firmer guarantees against the deformation of its leading role. One such guarantee could be a constitutional limitation on any aspirations to omnipotence. Another could be the

implementation of Lenin's idea of control over Communists by nonparty people. The idea that exists in a number of countries of party "self-opposition," that is, that the party would have the opportunity and ability critically to assess its own activity.

What is the new image of the party that is taking shape? The idea of the party not as an official department but as an organization with elements of self-management is clearly consonant with the aspirations of present-day society. It is necessary to lessen excessive professionalism and remove unnecessary organizational components, which only block links between the "top" and "bottom" of the party. The main condition of vitality for the party lies in its renunciation of petty interference in life and the tendency to take the place of other institutions and in the delimitation of its own functions and state functions (at the February plenum of the Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev called this a fundamental question of the reform of the political system).

Attempts to make progress in this direction have been made repeatedly, but they have not produced results. Today, in conditions of restructuring, in my opinion, we need more resolute steps—a change in the structure of the party apparatus and the elimination of its duplicated components. Hungary, Poland, and China have already taken this path. It is a question of the party bodies renouncing interference in day-to-day management, of finding more flexible, indirect forms of party control of state activity, and to the same extent, of strengthening the moral authority of party organizations, so that they can more easily and naturally reject directives and pressure.

Perhaps these are, for the time being, slogans, for the most part. But we cannot continue to ignore the logic of the development of our political life. We must not be afraid to name the problems that really exist. We must not sweep them under the carpet "until a better time." We cannot live in hope of life-saving ideas from someone else.

PRAVDA Reviews 'Doctor Zhivago'

PM271215 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 27 April 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page three a 3,000-word article by Dmitriy Urnov under the heading "'Crazily Suprassing One's Strength.' In B. Pasternak's Novel 'Doctor Zhivago.'" The article is prefaced by the following PRAVDA introduction:

"The publication has been completed of Boris Pasternak's novel 'Doctor Zhivago' (NOVYY MIR Nos 1-4)—a complex work which has had a dramatic fate. Written in the mid-fifties and published in the West soon after, it is only now becoming part of the reading matter of Soviet people, becoming a fact of our spiritual and intellectual life.

"Already, temporal distance seems to wittingly doom to canonization a work by an outstanding artist no longer with us. But it looks as though this fate does not yet threaten 'Doctor Zhivago.' The novel is being interpreted as a living phenomenon of present-day literature and there is hardly any call to count on a uniformity of views in talk about it. It is still just becoming a subject of critical analysis and thought in our country. One first and notable step in this direction was an article by Academician D. Likhachev which prefaced the journal's publication of 'Doctor Zhivago.' Today Doctor of Philological Sciences D. Urnov joins in the conversation about the book on the pages of PRAVDA. It is easy to suppose that the viewpoint of a well known critic and literary historian who lays absolutely no claim to the infallibility of his opinions will be accepted by far from all his colleagues and readers. But we must proceed from the premise that a comprehensive, scientifically regulated assessment of B. Pasternak's novel will be the fruit of the collective efforts of literary historians, critics, and readers and will be formed in the course of creative debate which inevitably arises around extraordinary artistic phenomena, of which 'Doctor Zhivago' is one."

Urnov's article begins with a brief survey of the novel's allusions to other works of literature and goes on to discuss the character of Doctor Zhivago and in particular his conviction of his own superiority and his lack of emotional involvement in the events described in the novel. There follows a short critique of "Zhivago's" poems, which form an appendix to the novel, although Urnov points out that these poems cannot be discussed in detail without reference to Pasternak's poetry as a whole. He continues:

"A special occasion and more space are also required for an analysis of the author's relationship with his hero. Finally, the history of the publication of 'Doctor Zhivago' is an absolutely special topic. It still has to be reconstructed. Anyone who hastens to present the matter as though the novel had been opposed solely by an inertia reluctant to see a remarkable work published is simplifying the situation to an implausible degree. He is simply extracting its internal drama. Yet this drama did exist: After all, even some of Boris Pasternak's most devoted supporters believed that the poet had not justified their hopes as a novelist. Of course, obtuse resistance also played its part, but through their efforts possessiveness and exclusiveness helped to maintain the atmosphere of martyrdom around the novel's author, paradoxically promoting the glorification of 'Doctor Zhivago' which came from abroad. And abroad, in the biggest capitalist countries, everything also took shape in a complex manner: At first rather restrained and actually adverse comments appeared, but when the author won the Nobel Prize, all the feuding was forgotten and many critics saw depth and strength where before they had seen weakness. This is even enshrined in the American 'Guide to Russian Literature' published in 1985. It states: 'Doctor Zhivago' in part follows the traditions of the Russian novel of the last century and in part deviates

from those traditions, violating the cause and effect sequence of events in the narrative, failing to observe historical chronology, failing to retain specific features of the situation in its authenticity and, the main thing, 'eroding the clarity of the central characters' nature.' And after this it adds: 'Some critics have viewed these features as shortcomings in the novel.' But in their majority critics have ceased to be critics with regard to 'Doctor Zhivago' and have become its apologists or have engaged in nonjudgmental decoding of the novel's symbolism. And indeed, how are we to criticize a novel when the author is in trouble? It is indeed a paradox: The crude and abusive attacks on Boris Pasternak have served as a reliable defense against serious criticism of his work. Now that we have read or are reading the novel, we must also investigate this paradox.

"In concluding my talk about the novel 'Doctor Zhivago,' I should like to say once again: Of course, I am very sorry that Boris Pasternak did not pit his hero against a really strong ideological adversary. The wise Bolshevik who meets him in Siberia nonetheless spares Zhivago, as though divining his wish to be shown pity. Yet Zhivago could have been put on the spot and driven into a corner. After all it is not hard to see and to show that he speaks of great ideas and great events using familiar selections of other people's words, many of which belong to what his contemporary Andrey Belyy, raised on the same language, called mindlessness. Of course, this might be more than enough for presenting himself to Antonina Aleksandrovna or Larisa Fedorovna [Zhivago's wife and mistress] and making an indelible impression on them, but surely that is not the standard of the era? Yuriy Zhivago inwardly agrees that he is a reproach to the new world, 'a gibe against that world.' It does not even occur to him that, while failing to accept the revolution, he should in fact be grateful to it: Only the decisive upheaval, only being dislodged from his rut, have lent some color to his feelings and experiences. Otherwise Yurochka would have remained an affluent 'rag doll' until his hair turned gray, would have been a second-rate poet or (like Andrey Belyy's 'Yurochka') a mediocre translator—no more. True, even the revolutionary upheaval did not wrench much out of Zhivago's soul: He is the classic kind of man, the type who used to be written about and we have read about him and know him: He used to be called Nikolay Stepanych, Professor Serebryakov, the 'Russian dandy,' Klim Samgin—in short, an empty soul."

Economic

Goskomstat's Belov on Plan Fulfillment

LD252242 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Today a news conference was held at the USSR State Statistics Committee. It dealt with the results of the country's national economy in the first quarter of this year. Many labor collectives are known to be introducing in practice the Law on the State Enterprise, Association, and the new management conditions. It is this year that a large-scale program for improving the organization of the unified structure and of the entire system of management of the national economy is being put into effect. Naturally all this complicates the solving of the current tasks involved in social and economic development. An objective analysis, however, shows that positive shifts in the economy were increasing in the first quarter of this year. Thus, the national income grew by 4 percent. This growth was, moreover, completely provided by labor productivity. Here is a more detailed commentary from a specialist. At the microphone of the "Latest News" is Nikolay Grigoryevich Belov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Statistics Committee:

[Belov] Industrial production as a whole has provided the dynamics of development which has been envisaged by the plan for the current year. For the first time the entire growth in industrial production has been attained with an absolute reduction in the numbers of manpower. A characteristic feature of the development of the economy for the first quarter is more active utilization of intensive growth factors. The requirements regarding observance of contracts are being made more stringent. In the first quarter contractual obligations were fulfilled by enterprises 99.2 percent, better than in the first quarter of last year, while the obligations regarding deliveries were fulfilled by 97.8 percent. The number of enterprises and associations that did not fulfill their obligations decreased from 23 to 11 percent. At the same time, of the industrial goods ordered, goods to the value of the impressive sum of R1.5 billion failed to be delivered to consumers. Mechanical engineering is still lagging behind the plans outlined, just as it was last year. Here contractual obligations were not observed at one-third of the complex's enterprises. This is alarming for its creates turmoil in the national economy.

A number of consumer goods were produced in lesser amounts than planned—87,000 radios failed to be produced, as well as 42,000 tape recorders, 44,000 washing machines and 26,000 sewing machines, and 44,000 vacuum cleaners.

The introduction of the state acceptance service has allowed acceleration of the quality of goods produced. The new principles of management are having an increasingly active effect on the development of the economy. In the first quarter 76,000 enterprises and organizations in various sectors of the national economy with a total of 51 million workers were operating in these conditions. They account for 60 percent of the volume of industrial and agricultural output. The indices for the operation of these enterprises are markedly better than those of the remaining enterprises.

We can describe a truly noteworthy breakthrough in the construction of projects in the social sphere and a departure from the method of financing the costs from residual funds. The positive changes in the structure of consumption are continuing. The sale of meat, animal

fats, whole milk products, soft drinks, and juices has increased. Among industrial goods the greatest increment has been in those like refrigerators, color television sets, washing machines, tape and video recorders, timber and building materials. But all the same, the population's demand for a number of goods is not being fully satisfied. The plan for retail goods turnover has not been fulfilled to the tune of R527 million, although the turnover has increased by R4.6 billion over that period as well.

Effects of New Methods

LD261725 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The use of new methods of management had a perceptible effect on the country's economic development in the first three months of 1988, Nikolay Belov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Statistics, said today.

He was commenting on the results of the fulfilment of the state plan for the country's economic and social development in January-March 1988 at a briefing for Soviet and foreign reporters at the Foreign Ministry's press centre.

Belov said that 76,000 enterprises and organisations, involving some 51 million people, had worked on a pay-your-own-way basis in the period.

"They accounted for more than 60 per cent of the country's industrial and agricultural output, 97 percent of the retail turnover, and 88 per cent of transport services," he said.

"The performance of these enterprises is much better than that of enterprises which have not yet switched over to the new system. Practically all of them fulfilled their assignments for profits, and the degree of their fulfilment of contractual obligations reached 99.3 per cent.

"By January 1, 1989, the whole of the national economy will operate on a self-supporting basis," Belov said.

He said that the national income over the first three months had grown by four per cent and industrial output by five per cent as compared with the same period of 1987.

For the first time ever growth was achieved despite personnel cuts, which reached a total of 400,000 people.

Answering newsmen's questions, Belov said that all of these people, without exception, had been given jobs, with account taken of their wishes and abilities.

"The Soviet Union has worked out a system of social security and full employment for workers to be released on a growing scope as a result of the introduction of new management methods," Belov said.

Figures Indicate Improved Demographic Situation

LD261720 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The population of the Soviet Union over the past decade has increased by 44 million to reach 285.2 million, Nikolay Belov, a deputy chairman of the State Statistics Committee told reporters at a briefing here today.

The demographic situation in the country has improved, with the population growth rate up and the child mortality rate down.

Another national population census will be conducted in this country on January 12-19, 1989.

Correction to Goskomstat Fulfillment Report

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Goskomstat Report on Jan-Mar Plan Fulfillment," published in the 27 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 65-77:

Page 68, column two, last entry of tabulation:

	A	B	C	D
Construction Industry Complex (USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry)	99.3	13	8.1	5.5

(clarifying column placement of figures)

Page 72, column two, second paragraph, line three:...of last year, 17.3 million tonnes of milk (or 5 percent more), and 15.6 billion eggs (6 percent more). (omitting word "extra" before each figure)

Scientific

Two New Artificial Satellites Launched

'Cosmos-1940' on 26 Apr

LD271118 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 27 APR 88

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Yet another satellite in the Cosmos series, the Cosmos-1940, was launched in the Soviet Union atop a Proton booster rocket on Tuesday. The satellite is intended for research into processes taking place in the earth's atmosphere and into the world ocean condition.

The satellite was put into an orbit close to a stationary one, with the following initial parameters:

Orbital period—24 hours 01 minute,

Distance from the earth's surface—35,849 km,

Orbital inclination—1.2 degrees.

The onboard equipment is functioning normally.

'Cosmos-1941' on 27 Apr

LD271450 Moscow TASS in English 1446 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The artificial earth satellite Cosmos-1941 was launched in the Soviet Union today to continue the space exploration programme. The sputnik was put in an orbit with the following parameters:

The initial period of revolution—89.3 minutes; the maximum distance from the surface of the earth—293 kilometres; the minimum distance from the surface of the earth—217 kilometres; the inclination of the orbit—70.3 degrees.

The equipment aboard the sputnik is functioning normally.

'Caribe-Intercosmos' Experiment Completed

LD262001 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—A just-completed international experiment involving Soviet space technology will help scientists to forecast the development of this planet and changes in the human habitat, a TASS correspondent was told at the Intercosmos Council under the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Codenamed "Caribe-Intercosmos'88", it has lasted for a month and aimed to study the dynamics of geosystems by remote sensing and imaging.

This was done with the help of Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov on board the Soviet orbiting platform Mir and of the satellites Cosmos-1766 and Cosmos-1869.

Simultaneously pictures were taken from planes and spectrometry studies made from ships and submarines.

Focusing on a number of test areas selected on Cuba, all that [as received] was intended to investigate processes under way in regions of high agricultural and industrial activity and affecting the condition of mountainous tropical woods and pastures and the yields of crops and citrus plantations.

Cuban territory has been chosen, experts explain, because the physical and geographical peculiarities of that tropical region call for novel methods for determining the characteristics of dynamic processes from a distance, which differ from those employed in middle latitudes.

The experiment pursued purely practical goals as well. It aimed, for example, to locate offshore areas in the Caribeean which feature a high biological mass content and can be commercially exploited by Cuban fishermen.

The joint experiment involved scientists from Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Poland and the Soviet Union.

Space Cooperation Offer 'Repeated' to FRG

LD211547 Hamburg DPA in German 1229 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The Soviet Union has repeated its offer to the Federal Republic at the first session of the joint commission for scientific-technical cooperation for more intensive cooperation in space travel. The Federal Government will examine this offer carefully, Gebhard Ziller, state secretary at the Ministry for Research and Technology, announced after the conclusion of 2 days of consultations, which were chaired by him.

In addition Moscow has offered the German side extensive participation and collaboration in the sphere of manned space flight. A few months ago the Soviet space flight organization Glavkosmos offered the Federal Republic the chance to have Federal German research conducted on board the "Mir" space station, against payment. The ministry has given the Bremen space flight company MBB-ERNO the task of examining the offer. There has already been cooperation with the Soviet Union for some time in the sphere of basic research into space flight, especially through institutes of the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft.

The deliberations of the commission, which was set up on the basis of the government agreement concluded in 1986, concentrated, according to Ziller, on a "constructive exchange of views" on bilateral relations in science and technology. A number of projects in the areas of health and agricultural research, including heart surgery, combatting cancer and AIDS, and livestock farming, have already been set in motion.

A joint group of experts is due to meet for the first time in Moscow in July to discuss cooperation in the field of reactor safety, which is favored by Bonn. The basis for this is the preparatory agreement on cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear power. The subjects to be covered, in addition to reactor safety research and overcoming the problem of nuclear waste, will be the further development of a high-temperature reactor and basic research into nuclear physics.

In the commercial sphere of high-temperature construction, the Soviet State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy signed a contract with the German companies BBC Brown Boveri AG and Hochtemperatur-Reaktorbau Gmbh in March. A joint plan for a 100 mw reactor is to be extended to a performance range of up to 500 mw.

The Bonn consultations—the Soviet delegation was headed by Kiril M. Dyumayev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology—are assessed by informed sources as having proceeded positively. The common view is that the closer cooperation desired by both sides has "been set in motion satisfactorily."

Nuclear, Other Energy Development Discussed

LD202215 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] At the Press Center of the USSR Foreign Ministry today, a news conference was held on problems of safe development of nuclear power, taking into account the lessons of Chernobyl, and other accidents at atomic power stations in the world. Correspondent Sergey Amelchenko reports:

[Amelchenko] The country's power industry is today based about 70 percent on mined, organic fuel. A large thermal power station uses dozens of railcars of coal or fuel oil daily, about as much as a town of 10,000 people. The bill, the waste, is already being seriously felt, both economically and ecologically. This was mentioned at the news conference. Today many experts see atomic energy as an alternative to the thermal power station. It was stated at the news conference that atomic energy would develop intensively. In 1985, the atomic capacities were 28 million [unit not specified]. But by 1990, they will double; they will treble by 1995. Much work is needed to insure the safety of new and old atomic power stations.

Yuriy Kuzmich Semenov, deputy chairman of the country's fuel and energy complex, today told journalists about Chernobyl. He has just returned from there. According to the deputy chairman, life is returning to normal. Yuriy Kuzmich noted that active measures are now being taken at all the country's atomic power stations to insure a high level of safety.

Specific information about the technical side of the safety of atomic stations was given by Aleksandr Leonidovich Lapshin, USSR deputy minister of atomic energy.

[Begin Lapshin recording] Continuous work is being carried out to enhance the safety of all technologies. We are working now on the project of the so-called VVER-88 [Vodo-Vodyanoy Energeticheskiy Reaktor: water-cooled, water-moderated power reactor]. This type of station will be built and developed by the year 1993. It is planned to create a new-generation VVER in 1992, incorporating, in addition to new technical safety devices, additional ideas for raising the economic viability of the set. Work also is being done on atomic stations for supplying heat—those we are building at Gorkiy and Voronezh—and for improving their safety. Finally, we are looking ahead, like many other countries; the government has made a decision to create two atomic stations with reactors of a new type, the so-called high-temperature reactors with helium cooling. Such stations will be built in our country during the 13th and 14th 5-Year Plans. With their help, it will be possible to solve the problems of supplying heat, not only municipal domestic heat supplies, but also supplies to industry. [end recording]

[Amelchenko] Specific questions were asked: the medical aspects of atomic energy safety were dealt with, as was cooperation with other countries in the field of safety. Would the Krasnodar atomic power station be built? Comrade Semenov replied: Not yet. Journalists were interested also in the attitude of experts toward alternative sources of energy. Andronik Melkonovich Petrosyants, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy, replies:

[Begin Petrosyants recording] Opponents ask why we do not develop any other clean types of energy, like solar and wind power, and to solve problems that way. I would like to say that in the USSR, research is being done into very many types of alternative energy, and stations are being built. Another question is: On what types of energy should we rely in the near future? Is the potential economically and technically adequate for introducing certain types of energy? We are working on the application of solar energy—you know that a fairly powerful solar station has been built in the Crimea—work is being done on thermal energy in Kamchatka and the Caucasus. Work is being done on the use of tides, and new promising sources of energy are being developed, such as MHD [Magnitoridrodinamika: magnetohydrodynamics] and stations belonging to the category of thermonuclear research, in which the USSR is investing great funds together with scientists from other countries. It must be appraised objectively: Given the particular state of development, is it possible to rely on a particular type of energy source? Yes, they may be of regional importance, but overall, one needs to develop those types of energy at present which are basically developed in all countries. [end recording]

New 'High Capacity' Computing Complex Created

LD252314 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—A new Soviet computing complex, created on the basis of the serial computer ES-1068 [YeS-1068], can effectively solve such difficult tasks as geological prospecting of minerals or the simulation of ecological processes.

Tests showed high capacity of the complex—600 million operations per second.

"We have achieved high capacity by supplementing the ES-1068 computer with special matrix processors oriented toward the solution of certain categories of tasks," Viktor Przhiyalkovskiy, general designer of the integral computer system (ICS) of socialist countries, told TASS.

"One processor was created at the Institute of Mathematical Machines in Yerevan, Armenia, while another in Bulgaria. These efforts revealed the advantages of cooperation under the ICS programme, a major part of a comprehensive programme for scientific and technological progress of countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), in effect till the year 2000," he said.

The new computing complex is compatible with computers produced now in CMEA countries as regards software and input/output systems.

On the design of the new computing complex, Przhiyalkovskiy said that the combination of the ES-1068 general-purpose computer with matrix processors made it possible to process large volumes of information.

"Although the method of creating such structures is known in the world, there are no such complexes abroad in the form of a finished industrial product," he said.

The general designer said the new complex cost about 7.5 million roubles.

Its application in the national economy and scientific research will be much less expensive as compared with super-computers with a similar capacity, manufactured in the world.

Military

Gromyko Awards Chernavin Red Star Order

PM261549 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Order of Red Star awarded to Admiral Chernavin]

[Text] USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Award of the Order of the Red Star to Comrade V.N. Chernavin

For services to the Navy and in connection with his 60th birthday, Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernavin is awarded the Order of the Red Star.

A. Gromyko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman

T. Menteshashvili, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary

Moscow, the Kremlin

21 April 1988

Readers View Stalin as Reason for Restructuring

PM261033 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Readers' letters under the rubric "From the Editorial Mailbag": "Affirming the Principles of Restructuring"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The editorial office is now receiving many letters in which readers share their thoughts and feelings provoked by the article published in PRAVDA of 5 April titled "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Acting." We publish some of them.

Changes, even those we want very much, nevertheless often come up against our internal opposition. A sort of inertia of the old way of life, of the old mentality and attitude toward the environment. This conflict between the old and the new in man is sometimes so latent in him that he himself is not always able to immediately notice his change of direction, the emergence of a retarding factor, and that he is no longer one of the real supporters of restructuring. One of those who constantly nurture it with their energy, actions, and convictions. In my opinion, today each one of us needs to be able to opportunely and critically assess and reassess himself and immediately introduce the necessary amendments to hold the correct course.

I think the article "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Action" published in PRAVDA calls on us to do just that and urges us to show high inner determination and the ability to constantly cleanse ourselves of things rooted in the obsolete and the outmoded.

How is it still possible that, notwithstanding our conviction of the correctness of our stance, ground is being yielded under pressure from the "prosaic" side of life? It is clear that the principles of restructuring have not become so entrenched in everyone so as not to be waived in some circumstances. No one else will rectify our own retrograde steps.

Restructuring needs our conviction and our boldness.

Rear Admiral Prof G. Kostev, chief of the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy Navy Department

I have read and reread the PRAVDA article "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Action." I wholeheartedly support precisely those revolutionary principles. We should not think that the truth and frankness now being asserted can supposedly fail to somehow impact in this way on young people's education. If anything can harm this education it is only silence, untruth, and the unwillingness to fully investigate everything.

For instance, can the effectiveness of the rising generation's heroic-patriotic education be reduced by telling the whole truth—which may be bitter in many respects—about the Great Patriotic War? As a front line soldier I am convinced this is impossible. Because alongside the unforgivable strategic miscalculations committed by the country's leadership and above all by I.V. Stalin, alongside this was the most outstanding heroism shown by the people and the army. This was the case in both 1941 and 1945.

Our 753d Artillery Regiment, in which I served as battery commissar, endured many ordeals in 1941. We had to retreat, and it cannot be denied that there were losses. But we did not run away, we fell back fighting—inflicting great damage on the accursed enemy horde as it pushed eastward. The regiment was a strong combat unit. The regiment's officers contributed greatly to this (although it seems they were not yet called officers then). There were no cowards, scaremongers, or—most particularly—traitors among them.

It is with a clear conscience that I have spoken and will speak to young people about the heroic actions of the officers and the entire personnel at a difficult time when we were in effect still only learning how to really combat the enemy. How, for example, on 5 October 1941 the regiment was surrounded while covering the withdrawal of one of our divisions; but it did not falter and managed to break out of the ring and preserve its Combat Banner.

At the same time nothing prevents me from telling my successors the bitter truth that many losses and tragedies would not have occurred if the army's command cadres hadn't been torn to shreds on the eve of the war and if there hadn't been such fatal miscalculations in assessing the situation.

Restructuring demands truth and morality from us. In matters great and small. In words and deeds. You ponder this once again on reading the PRAVDA editorial article.

Lieutenant Colonel, retired, I. Gurevich, Tashkent

Our party documents have given an objective assessment of Stalin's activity and have shown the tremendous damage inflicted by the cult of personality on people and on the cause of socialism. Yet material sometimes appears in the press which tries—albeit in a disguised fashion—to whitewash Stalin and pass off his crimes as simple mistakes. I believe the authors of such discourses have not experienced for themselves what these were: groundless repressions.

Take us, for instance. Our whole family passed through the camps and none of us managed to get to the front. We lost a combined total of 100 years of life behind the barbed wire and were deprived of our health. That is how the personality cult affected us.

The PRAVDA article correctly says that the guilt of Stalin and his immediate entourage before the party and people for the mass repressions and lawlessness is enormous and unforgivable.

S. Nesterenko, Poltava

What helps a soldier to overcome difficulties and to cope with the difficult business of being a soldier? Faith. Firm faith in the necessity of the cause you are serving. We now believe restructuring will be victorious and will overcome all obstacles. The PRAVDA editorial "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Action" convinces us of this. Our unit's personnel read it with tremendous attention and discussed it with great interest.

The following words were particularly imprinted in my mind: "We have changed over the past 3 years. We have raised our heads and straightened up, we look the facts honestly in the face, we speak aloud and openly of painful things, and together we are seeking ways to resolve problems which have accumulated over the decades..." This is indeed the case; we are changing. The refreshing wind of change is helping us to feel more free and more steadfast in standing up for our principles. This is a difficult school—this school of glasnost and democracy—where we are all pupils today. It demands of us courage, high intent, and a clear-cut stance.

Junior Sergeant I. Karney

Turkestan Military District Celebrates 70th Year

PM261355 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Major V. Sadykov report: "In Honor of the District's Jubilee"]

[Excerpt] The thematic exhibition "70 Years of the Turkestan Military District," devoted to the jubilee of the Red Banner Turkestan Military District, has opened in one of the halls at the Uzbek SSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. Taking part in a rally to mark its opening were Army General M. Zaytsev [not further identified]; Lieutenant General A. Ovchinnikov, member of the Military Council and chief of the district Political Directorate; M. Khalmukhamedov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; representatives of Tashkent's party and soviet organs, veterans of the Great Patriotic War and the district, and internationalist servicemen in the reserve. [passage omitted]